UNLESS YOU'RE FREE

AN ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER AGAINST WAR & MILITARISM

MARCH 2008 FREE

Five Long Years

Authors' Note: This article was written in early February 2008, so the situation could well have changed between now and publication. This article doesn't pretend to be the whole story. As this is an outsiders' perspective, we are really interested in talking to, and working with, other groups and communities around what's going on in Iraq and Afghanistan. We would love to hear from you.

> "The Iraq War and US occupation have been a catastrophe for Iraqis. The violence has touched every corner of the country, killed hundreds of thousands, and displaced millions. Estimates of the war's costs differ in magnitude but agree that the impact has been devastating. Casualty figures will continue to grow as military operations, sectarian militia violence and a declining humanitarian situation prevail".
>
> American Friends Service Committee . (AFSC)

The five year anniversary of the US invasion of Iraq, 1½ years after its invasion of Afghanistan, will hopefully prompt much needed analysis, reflection, and continued outrage from concerned people around the world.

Update

Although the U.S. and allied countries declared a victory in Iraq in June 2004, and have maintained that Afghanistan is under control, it's a given that the occupations of both countries are ongoing.

Most people agree that the invasions were built on lies. That the motivation for the US was at least, in part, to maintain a stronghold in the Middle East so that it would have continued access to oil. In addition, the daily media and government reports of terrorists and enemy attacks in Afghanistan, Iraq and the remainder of the Middle East, continues to provide justification for anti-terrorism laws that have been passed around the world, and allows for the continual chipping away of our global collective civil rights.

Still, there's no end in sight. This past summer the US and Iraq announced the beginnings of an agreement between the two countries. The US has maintained that its ultimate aim is not a permanent base in Iraq. The US has stated that, although 144 Iraqi parliamentary lawmakers signed a legislative petition calling on the US to set a timetable for withdrawal in May 2007, they could seek to maintain a presence for as long as it takes. The Iraqi foreign minister has decreed that the American army would be gone in less than 10 years.

"After about seven years, there is no peace, human rights, democracy and reconstruction in Afghanistan. On the contrary, the destitution and suffering of our people has doubled everyday. … We believe that if these troops leave Afghanistan, our people will not feel any kind of vacuum but rather will become more free and come out of their current puzzlement and doubts."

According to the Middle East Online, US State Department Spokesman Tom Casey has said that negotiations on a status of forces agreement with Iraq aimed to keep options open for the US beyond 2008., when the UN Mandate for US forces ends. Casey said the agreement might include allowing US troops to continue to remain in Iraq to hunt members of Al-Qaeda, and train Iraqi troops. And still, the Iraqi intelligence service is, at the moment, controlled and financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

The US has announced only a slight decrease in military troops, sending 5 of their 20 brigades home, decreasing from 158,000 in December to 140,000. British combat forces originally in it for the long haul are finally on their way out.

Australia has announced removal of its combat forces (about 550 soldiers) by June 2008. However, Australia will still have a significant presence, leaving approximately 500 Australian military in Iraq to, they say, aid in reconstruction and 1,000 still in Afghanistan. Australian security and engineering contractors, as well, will remain, potentially to take up the role that Australia's combat troops leave behind.

In Afghanistan, the UN declared 2007 the bloodiest year since 2001. Although there were commitments made and more money promised by allied countries in 2006, the Taliban has gained hold of an increasing portion of the country. British, Canadian, US and Australian military all continue to fight for control and many Afghan civilians and soldiers are dying and wounded in the process. More than 500 civilians are reported to have been killed in US-led air strikes or during other operations by foreign troops. A Nato-led military has almost 37,000 troops still engaged in Afghanistan.

The Taliban has regained control of much of Afghanistan in the countryside. The US and its allies are now training tribal militias to defend their areas against the Taliban, and aid flowing into the country is minimal. Despite US claims of 'success' in Afghanistan however, many communities within the country are crying out for an end to the occupation.

For example, in a December 2007 Communique, the Revolutionary Association of Women in Afghanistan claimed "…After about seven years, there is no peace, human rights, democracy and reconstruction in Afghanistan. On the contrary, the destitution and suffering of our people has doubled everyday. … We believe that if these troops leave Afghanistan, our people will not feel any kind of vacuum but rather will become more free and come out of their current puzzlement and doubts."

continued page 6

Anti-War Direct Action History: **The German Navy in WWI**

Between 1917 and 1919 a series of mutinies took place amongst the world's most disciplined armies. The Russian, German, Italian and French forces as well as the British all 'suffered' major outbreaks. The French Army was partly neutralised by mutinies in the summer of 1917. Between 1916 and 1918 there were at least 25 strikes by members of the Chinese Labour Corps within the British Army.

German sailors' councils in WWI would provoke their officers by roller-skating on deck over their cabins.

In the summer of 1917 there was a mutiny in the German navy. The aim of the mutineers was both to resist the worsening of their conditions and to break the power of the military in order to seek an end to the war and peace through agreement. The crew from several ships left, and others refused to load coal onto ships. They were demanding leave and reacting to reports of scarcity and poverty at home, as well as poor conditions on ships and inequalities between sailors and officers. More than 200 'ringleaders' were imprisoned but better rations were announced. A contemporary report said that 'Two members of the crew of a vessel forming part of the fleet … got out a leaflet stating that the war was begun by us for capitalist interests and that it is being carried out at the expense of the life-blood of the people. The representatives of these criminal opinions are unable or

continued page 6

This paper was created by anarchists from Sydney & Melbourne with the aim of providing information and ideas that will inspire action against the wars at home and abroad.

It was produced to coincide with the fifth anniversary of the invasion of Iraq but grew to include many more topics: the racist 'intervention' into Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, the Australian government's military meddling in our region, the use of 'anti-terrorism' to attack activists in New Zealand and more examples of everyday repression and resistance. We've also included some history lessons - examples of direct actions and rebellions by soldiers, sailors and civilians.

If you have any thoughts about the articles within, or are interested in either of the groups responsible, please get in touch.

- the editors, March 2008
mutineers@graffiti.net
outlaw@riseup.net
PO Box 4
Enmore
NSW 2008
Australia

Anarchist Direct Action acknowledge the Kulin Nation as the traditional owners of the Victorian land that we inhabit. We cannot fight imperialism and war in the Middle East without fighting imperialism and war at home in Australia.

For five years the Australian Defence Forces have participated in the invasion and occupation of a traumatised and exploited Iraqi nation.

This publication presents a range of anarchist arguments for the removal of troops, for an end to all wars based on nation states, and for the building of societies based on equality, freedom, mutual aid, and workers' control.

Under the occupation of Iraq, as with any imperialist war, there is a huge absence of political, social and economic equality. When we call for the troops to come home, this is part of a broader call for an end to military aggression and state warfare all together. Anarchist models for social development seek to create classless, non-hierarchical societies, societies without the imposition of oppression or authority. Such models seek to maximise the ability for individuals and groups to determine and organise their own conditions for living and working, in the absence of constraints imposed by dominating forms of rule.

Over the weekend of February 14th - 16th 2003, BBC News reported that between six and ten million people took part in protests in up to sixty countries worldwide. Many people felt their efforts to apply the correct amount of democratic pressure were wasted. Since March 18th 2003, when Iraq was invaded, there has been newfound, widespread disappointment in so-called Western democracies. Many are left feeling that our decision making processes are unaccountable.

On February 15th, Melbourne newspaper The Age printed a photo of an anarchist banner donning the slogan, **"No War But the Class War".** An anarchist vision for a future without imperialist wars is achievable through the realisation of the power of our class. We have so much more in common with Iraqis in struggle, than we do with wealthy Australians in the ruling class.

Governments have been entirely complicit with the USA in treating Iraq as an unprotected region for self-interested corporate investment. Anti-war arguments must also be anti-capitalist ones. We cannot afford to limit our demands to "troops out of Iraq" when government military budgets are increasing to unprecedented levels. In Australia, the Rudd government is making moves towards the withdrawal of troops from Iraq, whilst Australian military expenditure is expected to increase to A$31 billion by 2018.

By the same token we seek to show that Australian military priorities are in a stage of transition between the Middle Eastern deployment, and the imperial role which Australia is building in the Pacific.

Since 2001, the Australian government launched a series of military interventions throughout the Pacific—in the Solomon Islands where 22,000 troops were deployed in 2003, Papua New Guinea in 2004, and Timor Leste in 2006. **When Prime Minister Rudd talks of the withdrawal of Australian troops from Iraq, this will not mean demilitarisation,** but imperialist intervention in our own backyard and the invasion of our neighbours in the region.

Starting on Remembrance Day, November 11-13 2008, the Asia PacificDefence & Security Exhibition (APDSex) arms fare will take place in Adelaide. This is a significant event for governments in the Asia Pacific region because the governments in our region are expected to overtake Europe and the Middle East as the largest defence market in the world.

We offer you this newspaper because having access to this information is the important first step in building our ability to take actions to shape the future we want for ourselves rather than having our future shaped by imperialists.

- Anarchist Direct Action, Melbourne

"The real tragedy is that most people in the world are trapped between the horror of a putative peace and the terror of war. Those are the two sheer cliffs we're hemmed in by. The question is: How do we climb out of this crevasse?

For those who are materially well-off, but morally uncomfortable, the first question you must ask yourself is, do you really want to climb out of it? How far are you prepared to go? Has the crevasse become too comfortable?

If you really want to climb out, there's good news and bad news.

The good news is that the advance party began the climb some time ago. They're already half way up. Thousands of activists across the world have been hard at work preparing footholds and securing the ropes to make it easier for the rest of us. There isn't only one path up. There are hundreds of ways of doing it. There are hundreds of battles being fought around the world that need your skills, your minds, your resources. No battle is irrelevant. No victory is too small.

The bad news is that colourful demonstrations, weekend marches and annual trips to the World Social Forum are not enough. There have to be targeted acts of real civil disobedience with real consequences. Maybe we can't flip a switch and conjure up a revolution. But there are several things we could do. For example, you could make a list of those corporations who have profited from the invasion of Iraq and have offices here in Australia. You could name them, boycott them, occupy their offices and force them out of business. If it can happen in Bolivia, it can happen in India. It can happen in Australia. Why not?"

- Arundhati Roy, 2004

"There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part, you can't even passively take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop! And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all!"

- Mario Savio, 1964

Millions of people have marched to show their opposition to the war on Iraq, before it started and over the five bloody years it's continued. And yet, it goes on. Our rulers don't care what we think as long as we don't get in the way, and neither do those profiting from the carnage and so-called reconstruction. And we didn't get in the way. Once we had gathered to show our opposition, we simply dispersed. We went home, we went back to work, back to school or back to the dole queue and continued our lives as if nothing was different. But things are different – not just for the civilians of Iraq and Afghanistan and not just for the soldiers sent to fight, but for us all.

The war on terror is everywhere, and it's a war against all of us. We're meant to become fearful of outsiders and less trusting of our neighbours. We're meant to obey increasingly restrictive laws in the name of our own safety and security – and indeed, the consequences of disobeying can be frightening.

While corporations like ANZ & Halliburton collaborate in & reap profits from the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, we see people losing ever more & more control & capacity to organise in their workplaces through laws created by big business & the government.

In the Pacific region and the Northern Territory we have seen the Australian government act in an increasingly militarised way, sending in cops & troops to take control of lives & land.

This isn't an aberration in a system that is otherwise fair & good. We see it as a part of global systems of capitalist exploitation: systems that affect the lives of people all over the world, including our own lives.

We hope you question these concepts and consider joining us in resistance.

To make things better we have to do more than walk around the block a couple of times a year. We have to resist in our work and in our day-to-day lives. We have to resist increased policing-seen dramatically in Sydney through the APEC police state last year- and support those who are targeted by it.

From arms manufacturing to transport, from information gathering to logistical support, **war is an industry: and like any industry, it can be shut down.**

If we really want to stop these wars, we have to make it harder for the war to be waged. We have to raise the costs – social and financial – of war through direct action. We have to use the only weapons we have – our bodies, our minds and our creative defiance.

From World War I to the Vietnam war, wars have been ended because soldiers mutinied. They refused to follow orders, realising that their enemies weren't the soldiers of another country but their own officers and the politicians and businessmen who sent them off to kill and be killed.

Such refusal to acquiesce and obey can happen in the here and now in this region too; from refugees & supporters combining to tear down the fences of the Woomera detention camp in 2002, to the mass blockades of the Melbourne Crown Casino during the World Economic Forum in 2000, to Christian pacifists breaking into U.S spy bases, to the smallest everyday act of disobedience and rebellion; moments of resistance are possible.

If this war engages all of us, we can all engage in mutiny – we can refuse to follow orders, and we can take the power back into our own lives and our communities.

- Mutiny, Sydney
mutineers@graffiti.net

printed by
BREAKOUT
DESIGNPRINTWEB
☎ 9283 0123

Pictures thanks to:
Front & back cover & p 11 - Tom Civil
p 4, 8, 9,14 - various artists via miniaturegigantic.com
p 6 - Schnews.org.uk
p 10 - Pip Starr, via Melbourne Indymedia
p. 12 - www.indymedia.org.nz
p. 13 - Angel

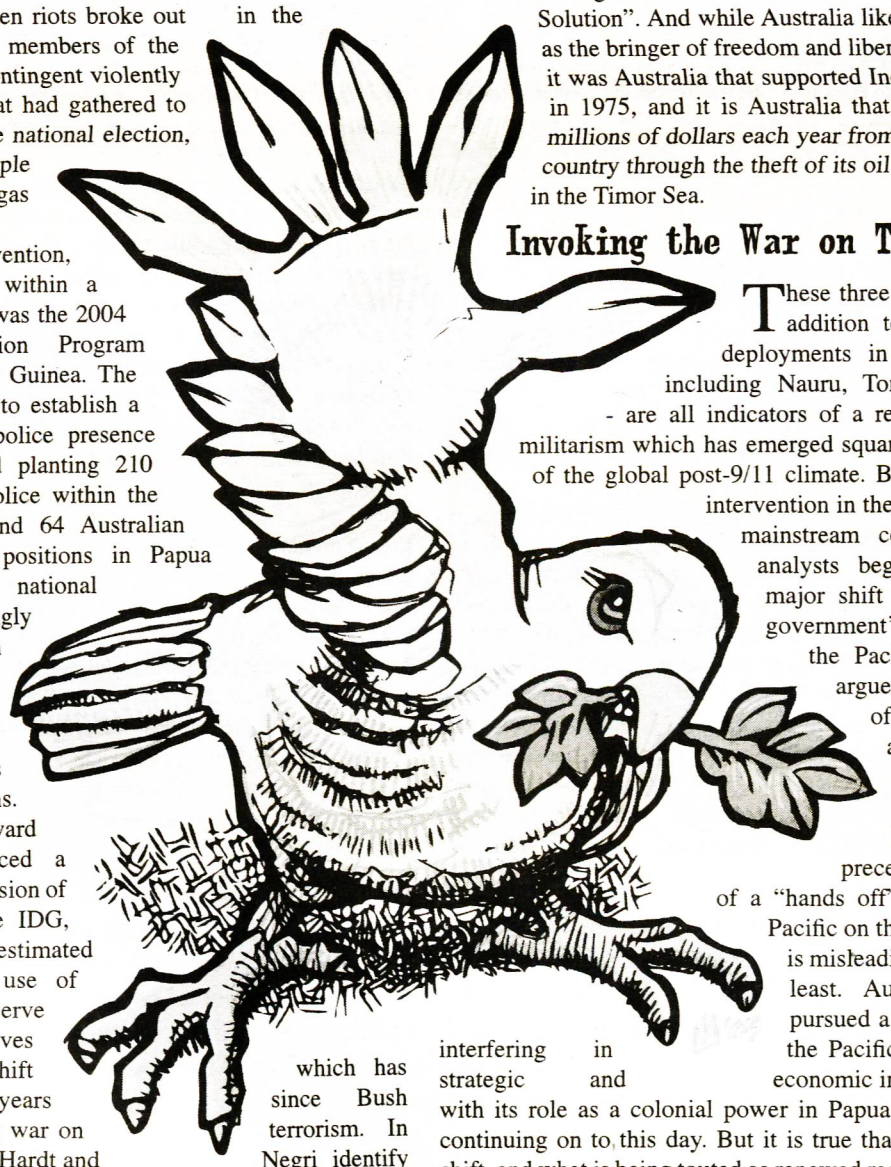
The War on Terror & Australian Militarism in the Pacific

For six and a half years now the War on Terror has wrought devastation on the people of Iraq and Afghanistan, and the price of America's self-serving crusade has been the lives of close to a million people and the suffering of millions more. All the while, the Australian government has been a willing accomplice in the bloodshed in the Middle East, but it's also been deploying its troops closer to home. Since 2001, Australia has launched a series of militaristic interventions throughout the Pacific-in the Solomon Islands in 2003, Papua New Guinea in 2004, and Timor Leste in 2006 - and is increasingly invoking the War on Terror to justify its self-interested pursuit of a pro-business, neo-liberal, neo-colonial agenda in the region.

There have been three major Australian interventions in the Pacific since the initiation of the War on Terror, utilising both the Australian Defence Force, the paramilitary-style International Deployment Group of the Australian Federal Police. The first of these began in 2003, when the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) saw an Australian-led contingent of 22,000 military and police personnel enter the Solomon Islands (SI) in the wake of civil unrest which had its roots in land alienation dating back to the colonial period. The predominantly Australian contingent effectively assumed control of the country, including raiding the offices of the then-Prime Minister and taking over the SI police force, and Australian bureaucrats now run the Finance Ministry and Central Bank. The intervention has been condemned for being a heavy-handed interference with the independence of the country, and for being a display of neo-colonial arrogance and imperialism. The debacle came to a head in 2006 when riots broke out in the capital Honiara after members of the Australian RAMSI contingent violently broke up a crowd that had gathered to hear the results of the national election, manhandling people and shooting tear gas canisters.

The debacle came to a head in 2006 when riots broke out in the capital Honiara after members of the Australian RAMSI contingent violently broke up a crowd that had gathered to hear the results of the national election, manhandling people and shooting tear gas canisters.

The second intervention, which was aborted within a year of its initiation, was the 2004 Enhanced Cooperation Program (ECP) in Papua New Guinea. The ECP was an attempt to establish a strategic Australian police presence in PNG. It involved planting 210 Australian Federal Police within the PNG constabulary and 64 Australian bureaucrats in key positions in Papua New Guinea's national government. Increasingly the AFP, through the International Deployment Group, is at the forefront of Australia's foreign interventions. Last year, the Howard government announced a five-year, rapid expansion of the paramilitary-style IDG, which will cost an estimated $480 million. The use of police forces to serve foreign policy objectives is part of a broader shift which has been taking hold in the years since Bush declared an unending war on terrorism. In their book *Multitude*, Hardt and Negri identify the conflation of military and policing functions as one of the key elements of what they call the Global State of War. In this new state of war, the new global imperial power, the US, along with regional imperial powers like Australia, are claiming their patches of the Global South, to be "policed" and administered like colonies.



In Papua New Guinea, the Enhanced Cooperation Program was only accepted by the PNG government when the Australian government threatened to cut off future aid to the country. In all, the Program took almost a year of negotiations to set up; but it took less than that time for it to collapse spectacularly. After demanding to launch a mini-takeover of key sections of the PNG police and government, the Australian government then demanded, US-style that all AFP members be given total immunity under PNG law. The claim for immunity was challenged, and the PNG Supreme Court ruled it to be unconstitutional. The result was the complete withdrawal of Australian police from all inline positions.

The third major intervention into the region in recent years was the 2006 military intervention into Timor Leste (East Timor), which followed the outbreak of conflicts in the Timorese army between soldiers from the eastern and western provinces. The Australian government organised a military force which entered the country, completely sidelined the entire Timor Leste army, and then refused to submit to UN command when the matter went to the Security Council. As with so many of Australia's imperial jaunts in the region, the intervention was portrayed as a protective mission to secure the safety of the Timorese people. But the Australian state's "humanitarian" credentials in Timor Leste, and the region at large, are pretty damn poor to say the least. At the same time that it was proclaiming itself the defender of human rights in the Pacific, the Howard government was locking refugees away in detention camps worse than prisons - first in Australia and then in neighbouring countries bought off and treated like new colonies - or, it was turning them away from the shore and letting hundreds of them drown as part of its "Pacific Solution". And while Australia likes to portray itself as the bringer of freedom and liberty in Timor Leste, it was Australia that supported Indonesia's invasion in 1975, and it is Australia that continues to take *millions of dollars each year from the impoverished* country through the theft of its oil and gas resources in the Timor Sea.

Invoking the War on Terror

These three interventions - in addition to several smaller deployments in Island countries including Nauru, Tonga and Vanuatu - are all indicators of a renewed Australian militarism which has emerged squarely in the context of the global post-9/11 climate. Beginning with the intervention in the Solomon Islands, mainstream commentators and analysts began talking of a major shift in the Australian government's policies towards the Pacific. It was, they argued, a pivotal reversal of the "hands off" approach which had characterised Australian policy in the years preceding it. The idea of a "hands off" approach to the Pacific on the part of Australia is misleading, to say the very least. Australia has long pursued a policy of actively interfering in the Pacific to serve its own strategic and economic interests, beginning with its role as a colonial power in Papua New Guinea and continuing on to this day. But it is true that there has been a shift, and what is being touted as renewed regional engagement is, in fact, a new phase of explicitly interventionist militarism.

The foundations for this shift were laid in 1999, at the time of Australia's first intervention into Timor Leste, and a couple of years into John Howard's close and cuddly relationship with US President George Bush. At that time, Howard announced a new foreign policy strategy, dubbed the "Howard Doctrine". It included two core elements: first, Australia was to assume a more active role in the Asia-Pacific region, including initiating more interventions when it deemed necessary; and second, it would undertake this role as "deputy" to the US. Then, when the War on Terror began two years later, Bush launched a doctrine of his own, one based on pre-emptive attacks, total disregard for evidence or truth and/or their fabrication, invasions of other countries under the pretext of liberating them, and the pursuit of economic and strategic self-interest while claiming to be spreading democracy. Bush's newly self-appointed deputy lapped it up without a moment's hesitation - the Coalition of the Willing was going to assert its presence on the global stage, and the Pacific would be Australia's "patch".

From this point on, the vocabulary of the War on Terror-not to mention its practices - began weaving its way into regional foreign policy. The argument went that Australia needed to exercise its muscle in the region to prevent 'failing states' from becoming havens for terrorists and organised crime. And, moreover, this warranted the use of pre-emptive action. As the first RAMSI Special Coordinator, Nick Warner, put it in 2004:

"Experience elsewhere shows that weak states are also attractive as havens for money laundering, people smuggling, drug smuggling and terrorism. And while there was no evidence that transnational criminals were targeting Solomon Islands, there was no point waiting for this to happen."

The argument is, quite frankly, ridiculous. As writer Philip Cuncliffe put it, "the idea of the Taliban using the Solomon Islands as a launch pad for the invasion of Australia is even more absurd than the notion that Saddam Hussein's elusive WMD posed a threat to civilisation." But armed with this new justification for its militarism Australia went marching in, stamping its feet all over its new sphere of influence, just as America did in the Middle East.

Australia's neo-colonial agenda

Like America's invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, Australia's military interventions in the Pacific are part of a neo-colonial project grounded in arrogance, racism and the pursuit of power and strategic interest. Like the US, the Australian government has defended its incursions into the Solomon Islands, PNG and Timor Leste by arguing that it is

continued page 4

For Fear of Being Called

In Peru a demonstration
against a rise in bread prices
is stopped
because of threats to denounce
those who demand bread
as terrorists.

How greatly we fear language
an electric cattle prod
to drive us into corners
where we cower
for fear of being called
terrorists or communists or
criminals.

How did we allow those who don't give
a damn about how we
the 80% live or die
to rob us of our language
to intimidate us into cutting out
our tongues
and binding our limbs into
lameness?

How can we be more afraid
to be called terrorists
than to die in the dark
with no one there to speak for us?

- Lori Berenson

February 1996
Published in *Syracuse Peace Letters*, March 1997, and in *Rescue the Word*
More on Lori Berenson can be found at freelori.org

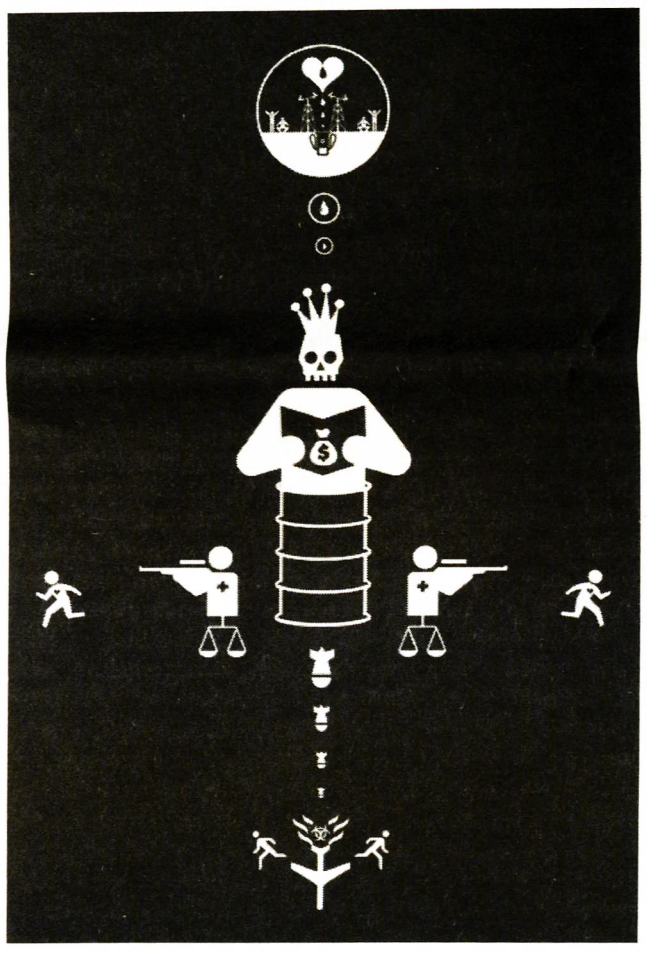
Australia & the Pacific, from page 3

bringing security, democracy and "good governance" to the region. The Pacific, it is argued, is an "arc of instability", filled with "failed" and "failing" states in need of democratic leadership and governance which only Australia can provide. Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka, a Solomon Islander and lecturer at the University of the South Pacific, Fiji, argues that the "failed state" discourse is not a neutral representation of reality in the Pacific, but rather a constructed idea used to justify Australian intervention. It is an idea which "cultivates and perpetuates Australia's paternalistic and patronizing relationship with the Pacific Islands".

It is also an idea which masks the reality of Australia's exploitation of the Pacific for its own economic gain. Australia's policies in the region are neo-colonial, not only because of the racist assumption that Pacific countries somehow need Australia to be running them, but also because they create the conditions for the economic dominance of the region through large, predominantly Australian corporations. Australian corporate interests dominate oil, gold and copper mining in PNG, and are heavily involved in clear-fell logging in the country; they now control the only gold mine in Solomon Islands (following the RAMSI intervention); and, along with US corporations, reap the mass of profits from oil and gas projects in the Timor Sea, at the expense of the people of Timor Leste.

The idea of the Taliban using the Solomon Islands as a launch pad for the invasion of Australia is even more absurd than the notion that Saddam Hussein's elusive WMD posed a threat to civilisation.

Furthermore, Australia uses its so-called aid program



to promote policies of "business-led" development in the Pacific, with large-scale mining, forestry, fishing, and tourism projects run by primarily foreign companies. In Papua New Guinea, Australian aid makes up 20 percent of the national government's budget, but then-Foreign Minister Alexander Downer and his counterpart in PNG, Sir Rabbie Namaliu, both admitted recently that 80 per cent of this goes back into the Australian companies that are contracted to deliver the aid program by AusAID. Beneath the rhetoric of development and income-generation for people in the Pacific, the reality is that these projects create huge profits for corporations, while frequently resulting in the alienation of Indigenous people from their customary lands, loss of food and social security, and widespread environmental damage. Where Indigenous islanders are employed in these "development projects", it is by and large in the poorest-paid, most menial positions. Employment is highly precarious, and the pathetic wages in no way compensate for the social, economic, cultural and environmental devastation these projects wreak.

A central objective in each of the recent Australian military interventions in the Pacific has been to secure a business friendly environment in the region, and protect this country's economic interests. About one year after the intervention in the Solomon Islands began, the Australian Government released a report through the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, entitled 'Solomon Islands: Rebuilding an Island Economy'. The report was funded by Australian-based mining company BHP-Billiton. Speaking at the launch of the report, the President of the Australia-Pacific Islands Business Council assured listeners that RAMSI was having "a positive effect on business confidence", and that "Australian businesses were the most likely to succeed in creating the type of private sector-led economic growth that is fundamental to the rebuilding of the Solomon Islands economy". The DFAT report then went on to argue that customary land in SI should be "registered", that is, taken out of customary control and made available to private development.

Similarly, in Papua New Guinea, the Australian aid agency AusAID stated in a 2004 report that the Enhanced Cooperation Program was "designed to re-establish investor confidence and provide an enabling environment for broad based development." Of course, the types of development projects which AusAID likes - the kinds it generally funds - are projects like logging camps and open-cut mines, which definitely do generate large amounts of income, but then funnel it right back to foreign investors and local elites. Local Pacific police and military forces (which are frequently trained by Australian forces and funded through Australia's aid program) are also used to secure these important corporate investments.

And in Timor Leste, the desire to ensure Australia's control of the oil and gas reserves in the Timor Sea was clearly a motivating factor in its decision to send troops. Australian politicians and mainstream media outlets actively supported the campaign against the then-Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri, in favour of the President Xanana Gusmao, who has historically been much more inclined to concede to Australian interests. And, true to form, Howard secured an even more profitable deal on Timor's oil and gas profits once Alkatiri was ousted.

The real sources of insecurity for people in the Pacific.

When the Australian Government talks about 'enhancing security' in the region, the question that needs to be asked is "whose security"? Because it is true that there are a myriad of factors which keep Pacific communities in situations of extreme insecurity, but it is also true that while politicians and generals wax lyrical about bringing freedom and security to the region, their actions do nothing to address the underlying sources of insecurity, crisis and dissatisfaction in the Pacific. Three of the most severe sources of insecurity in the Pacific region at the moment are: the alienation of people from their traditional lands; neoliberalisation and the push towards free trade policies; and the attack on traditional forms of community and life through the state - building project. In all these things the Australian state and its armed defenders are entirely complicit.

The alienation of people from their traditional lands is one of most severe threats to the security and livelihoods of Pacific communities at the moment. Throughout the region, customary ownership of land by communities is the bedrock of people's social, economic and cultural well-being. People have traditionally organised around communities which are intimately connected to their lands. Land is passed down within tribes, clans and family groups through complex systems of social reciprocity and kinship relations which ensure that people have land on which to live, grow food, and be supported within their communities. Increasingly, though, customary ownership is being attacked and degraded, through large-scale development projects which displace people from their land, and through processes of land privatisation.

Australia is inexorably implicated in this process of land alienation. First, through the presence of Australian corporations involved in land take-overs, and second, because it has actively pushed for Pacific countries to adopt policies of land "registration" and privatisation. Successive Australian governments, backed by right-wing think-tanks like the Centre for Independent Studies, and in keeping with World Bank and IMF directives, have argued for land to be "freed up" for economic development. But invariably, the benefits of such economic development are concentrated in the hands of the few, while those who are displaced are left carrying the costs. And the results of land alienation are profound: homelessness, loss of food security, forced migration to the cities and the growth of the urban poor and unemployed. Without shared land, communities break down, social and cultural safety nets disintegrate, and conflicts and crises grow. What are often depicted as racial or ethnic clashes in the Pacific - for instance in the Solomon Islands and Fiji - are in reality the result of issues of land ownership, usage and tenure. Australian policies that perpetuate the alienation of people from their traditional lands only fuel this source of insecurity.

Similarly, Australia has been actively pushing for the implementation of neoliberal and free-trade policies in the Pacific for years. Again, working alongside the World Bank, Asian Development Bank and IMF, successive Australian governments have been "encouraging" their Pacific counterparts to adopt neoliberal reforms. As with every developing country coerced into adopting neoliberal policies, the results are predictable: decreased social spending, including in health and education; minimal regulation for corporate activity; privatisation; and low wages and lack of protections for workers. There are already Australian bureaucrats in the PNG Government, including in the Department of Treasury, where they are pushing through aggressive neo-liberal reforms aimed at making a more market-friendly environment. A favourite policy is "rightsizing", which is the new managerial speak for "downsizing", or, to put it bluntly, cutting jobs. The introduction of neoliberal reforms has been resisted within the Pacific, with large-scale protests occurring in Vanuatu in 2002, PNG in 1995, and Tonga in 2005, to name a few. Yet, Australia's neo-colonial presence in the region gives it enormous coercive power.

Likewise, Australia has been aggressively pushing free trade policies in the region through its involvement in bodies such as the Pacific Islands Forum and APEC, and through regional trade agreements like the Pacific Island Countries

continued next page

Beneath the rhetoric of development and income-generation for people in the Pacific, the reality is that these projects create huge profits for corporations, while frequently resulting in the alienation of Indigenous people from their customary lands, loss of food and social security, and widespread environmental damage. Where Indigenous islanders are employed in these "development projects", it is by and large in the poorest-paid, most menial positions. Employment is highly precarious, and the pathetic wages in no way compensate for the social, economic, cultural and environmental devastation these projects wreak.

Anti-War Direct Action History: **AIDEX arms fairs, Canberra, 1989 & 1991**

AIDEX is a trade fair which more than 200 companies gather with military, paramilitary & police representatives to buy & sell ever more efficient machinery of mutilation & murder. In 1989 protesters disguised as weapons dealers entered the arms fair, gathered evidence of war crimes & dropped stink & smoke bombs.

The Gulf War highlighted, amongst other things, the role of the international arms trade in fuelling wars. It even seemed at one stage that the arms trade might be questioned in the mainstream media.

The fact that media magnate Rupert Murdoch sits on the board of directors of one of the largest weapons manufacturing companies in the world, United Technologies, may have something to do with the way the whole question of the arms trade was quickly hijacked & changed to "How did such a butcher get that many weapons in the first place" (the butcher referred to being Saddam Hussein, not George Bush or Bob Hawke).

When the arms fair returned in 1991 there was a massive blockade, which prevented arms dealers from getting their displays in. Over 3 days 3,000 demonstrators, including students, the Food Preservers Union, Domestic Violence & Incest Survivor activists forced the Defence Minister Robert Ray to cancel his speech. The Arms Fair organisers actually asked the government to declare a state of emergency, & activists were accused of bizarre things like hurling oranges with syringes stuck in them at police, & covering themselves in shit. Cops used mass arrests & violence to break the blockade.

After AIDEX 1991, as after AIDEX 1989, people in Canberra seemed to be in a state of shock. Even people who had not been involved in the protest at all. Almost everybody who lived in Canberra knew somebody, or was related to somebody who had been in the protest, it was so widespread & well attended.

NT Intervention on the ground

by Rashmi Kumar

Ever since the Howard government announced its intervention into Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, the measures making up the legislation have been roundly criticised by Aboriginal rights organisations and activists. The intervention is huge in scope, and its measures are numerous. Detailing the impact of the measures is no small task, yet it is made necessary by the lack of appeal rights provided by the legislation.

Numerous Aboriginal people from prescribed communities have spoken out against the intervention, however. Grass-roots organisations have formed networks around the country to provide a voice for those affected by the intervention.

Many of the stories illustrate the poor planning and authoritarianism that has been criticised by organisations such as the National Aboriginal Alliance and the Combined Aboriginal Organisations of the Northern Territory.

Rachel Willika from Eva Valley described the widespread fear and apprehension that her community experienced when the intervention was announced. The lack of debate and consultation caused a great deal of uncertainty amongst the prescribed communities. In some cases, this anxiety led to an increase in substance abuse and violence in those communities.

The control of welfare incomes has also led to widespread difficulty. Instead of being able to manage money around high-cost occasions, the compulsory quarantine of half of all social security payments in prescribed communities has limited peoples' mobility and their ability to provide for their families.

Barbara Shaw from Mt. Nancy town camp in Alice Springs said: **"Centrelink is never organised to get our food vouchers in on time. We went the long weekend without food."**

This limitation has forced many people off their lands. Barbara Shaw continued, "Centrelink is not providing proper services for remote communities, so people are being forced into town. Wallace rock-hole is shutting down, which community will be next?"

This is the outcome which Pat Turner of the National Aboriginal Alliance argues has been the design of the intervention all along. While basic services are shuffled around, resulting in a preventable death in one community, Mt. Leibig, remote Aboriginal communities in the Territory are becoming more difficult to live in as a result of the intervention. The additional measures such as the appointment of business managers, the dismantling of the permit system, and the compulsory acquisition of all lands in prescribed communities undermine the autonomy and the sovereignty of Aboriginal communities. The intervention marks a return to an era of assimilationist policies, alleges Turner.

Rachel Willika echoes these sentiments, **"we don't want to go back to the days when we got paid in rations, and every community had a white superintendent."**

However, the movement against the intervention, combined with the new Labor government's apology to the Stolen Generations, has put Aboriginal affairs back at the top of the nation's political agenda. The nationwide convergence in Canberra that occurred on the opening day of parliament, February 12th, provided an opportunity for an elevated level of engagement between Aboriginal rights activists around the country.

The photos show signs made by residents of Willowra community, on Warlpiri country 250km north-west of Alice Springs, to 'welcome' the intervention.

Activists are hoping that these developments will lead to long-term change in Aboriginal affairs around the country. While Rudd's apology was designed as a symbol for reconciliation, the concrete policies pursued by the Rudd Labor government continue and even reprise past destructive policies. As such, a strong Aboriginal rights movement calling for Aboriginal control of Aboriginal affairs is necessary for change to occur.

For more info some sites you can check out include:
http://aboriginalrightscoalition.wordpress.com/
www.federalintervention.info/
http://www.womenforwik.org/ ❖

Anti-War Direct Action History:
Anti-nuclear & anti-war actions in Germany, 1985-86

In 1985-86, a significant victory was won by the German autonomous movement (Autonomen) at Wackersdorf, Bavaria, where a nuclear reprocessing facility was being built that would have the capacity to provide Germany with weapons-grade plutonium.

Twice over this period, Autonomen (a substantial & wide-ranging radical left grouping in Germany at the time) initiated occupations of the construction site. On December 12 1985, 870 persons were arrested & on January 12, another 700 were arrested at another encampment. Impressed by the Autonomen's determination, Bavarian farmers & middle-class people became involved in the campaign.

One unsympathetic observer put it "Stunned Germans watched unprecedented scenes on their TV screens as old ladies led masked Autonomen away to hide them from police, & farmers wielded shovels & pitchforks against police".

The movement eventually forced the closure of the Wackersdorf facility.

From G Katsiaficas, *The Subversion of Politics*

Australia & the Pacific, from page 4

Trade Agreement (PICTA) and the Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations (PACER). At the Pacific Islands Forum in 2005, Australian delegates began advocating for a Pacific Economic and Political Community which would be similar to the old European Economic Community free trade zone. These policies are of enormous advantage to Australia, which makes huge profits from its trade exports to the Pacific. Australia's 2001-2006 economic strategy in the Pacific was to double its export trade in the five years period, a policy that had apparent bipartisan support. At the same time, Australia is seeking to secure cheap and unfettered access to the natural resources of the Pacific. The terms of trade are extraordinarily unequal, and only perpetuate Australia's economic and strategic domination of Pacific countries, and the continuing exploitation and impoverishment of their people.

The third major cause of insecurity in the Pacific is the current Australian-backed program of state-building. Over the last few years, state-building and nation-building have become central to the Australian foreign policy agenda. The military interventions in the Solomon Islands, PNG, and Timor Leste have all been explicitly geared towards building the strength of the state in the Pacific. Increasingly, foreign aid is channelled through state-building and "governance capacity-building" programs. Increasingly, as well, aid is being securitised, with funds used to strengthen the armed defenders of the state-the police and the military. Behind the post-9/11 discourse on the perils of failing states, is the unspoken assumption that what people need are powerful, centralised states to rule over them.

To the contrary, the state-building project over the last few decades has been one of imposing hierarchical, authoritarian structures of power which are totally antithetical to the models of social organisation, conflict resolution and decision making which have historically characterised Pacific societies. Likewise, traditional forms of identification - with families, clans and tribes - are now being undermined through the imposition of manufactured national identities, which are fuelling identity-based conflicts around race, religion and ethnicity. Writing about Papua New Guinea and the notion of the failed state, Brian Bunton makes the pressing point that PNG is best understood, not as a failed state, but as an area consisting of multiple successful communities, whom the state has failed. But the Australian state is actively pursuing its state-building program in the Pacific because the alternative - self-organising communities - is a threat to the entire state system. And so Australian foreign policies and aid money go to creating powerful elites within Pacific countries which can keep their populations compliant and under control.

What about Rudd?

How much has changed though, with the recent change of government? In some senses, there's hope that an ALP government will be less aggressively militaristic than the Liberal government was. Kevin Rudd does seem a little more inclined to invest in healthcare, education, building infrastructure and employment programs. But at the same time, the militaristic interventionism of the last six and a half years seems set to continue under Labour.

Labor's Beazley, the ex-leader of the ALP, made his party's position clear in a speech given in August 2006 to the corporate foreign policy think-tank, the Lowy Institute. A Labor government, he insisted, deserved support in the upcoming election because it would expand the military and intelligence agencies to "win the war on terror in our region." Cutting straight to the point, he told the assembled crowd, "I want troops in our region now."

When Rudd took over the ALP leadership, a central tenet of the party's election campaign was his promise to withdraw Australian troops from Iraq. However, this move shouldn't be mistaken for a winding back of Australian militarism, it's about redeploying the military and AFP International Deployment Group in keeping with his long-standing focus on the Asia Pacific region. As Rudd put it in an interview with Laurie Oakes in February 2007, "there are better places to have combat forces than the middle of a civil war in Iraq".

Rudd has bent over backwards to profess his commitment to the US-Australia alliance, and all the military cooperation which comes with that. He's stated publicly that Australian troops will stay in Afghanistan for "the long haul", and he remains committed to the War on Terror. He's wholeheartedly adopted the rhetoric of failed states, regional instability, and fighting terrorism. It's just that he wants Australia's militaristic efforts to be focussed on the Pacific - Australia's patch - on what he calls the "arc of instability" in PNG, Timor Leste, Naura, Tonga, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji.

The pull-out of Australian troops from Iraq doesn't mean the War on Terror is over for us. Far from it, it continues on and Australia remains complicit in it. Across the world, the Coalition of the Willing have used it to further their economic and political self-interest, ensure their domination of the Middle East, launch racist anti-Muslim campaigns, and enact authoritarian attacks on the liberties and rights of their own populations. And here in Australia, the War on Terror is also merging with long-standing practices of neo-colonialism and regional domination in the Pacific, and providing the pretext for a renewed phase of Australian militarism. As long as the War on Terror continues, so too must our resistance - in Australia, in the Pacific, everywhere. ❖

Five Long Years, from first page

While the media reports on the daily bombings, the US cries for world support of its 'war on terror', and the world's largest refugee population pours from the region. Many of the country's already marginalised populations are getting swept further and further under the rug. Women, those already living with or newly left with disabilities, and members of the lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transgender (LGBT) communities are struggling, but surviving.

Grassroots Struggles

George Bush has routinely stated that soldiers and a military presence are necessary in the Middle East to protect the American (or western democracy's) way of life, and to bring the American way of life to the Middle East. How has the foreign military presence affected lives?

Women and LGBT communities, commonly marginalized in the best of times in any country, have become targets of oppression and violence. The bombings and ongoing fighting has led to increased, and largely downplayed, numbers of people (soldiers and Iraqi and Afghani civilians) living with disabilities, more than 4.5 million Iraqis have been displaced and more than 2 million have left the country.

Women

Before and since the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, women have suffered under the Taliban and Saddam Hussein. Despite US claims of 'liberating' women to justify the invasions, women continue to suffer just as much, and even more since the US occupation.

From the 1960s to the 1980s women in Iraq made progress in gaining access to education, employment and services, and women's rights were recognised in legislation. Since the 80s, conditions have deteriorated however, with the Iraq-Iran war, Saddam Hussein's rule, and the Gulf War.

According to *The Nation's* Katha Pollitt, since the invasion Iraq has been worse for women, describing "As if car bombs and suicide bombers weren't horrific enough, criminal gangs, religious militias and death squads kidnap, rape and kill with impunity, with special attention to women professionals, student and rights activist."

Recently Australia's Support Association for Women of Afghanistan (SAWA) hosted Sohaila, a member of the organization, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). Sohaila reported that the situation in Afghanistan for women has worsened and girls are molested, raped or killed on their way to school. Many are confined to their homes completely. Incidents of domestic violence and "honor killings" have risen also. In the Iraqi province of Erbil, rapes quadrupled between 2003 and 2006, in 2005 there were 300,000 widows in Baghdad alone, and access to education, freedom to leave the home without a head scarf, or to leave the home at all, is severely restricted.

In addition, women have been included in the numbers of civilians arrested and held in US prisons like Abu Graihb and elsewhere. Many women who were held and released have not mentioned sexual abuse or rape, but this could likely be due to fear of honor killings, in which the woman is killed, often by a family member, for disgracing the family. However, an investigation of Abu Graihb by US Major General Antonio Taguba found at least one case of rape and naked photographs of male and female detainees.

While the US claims that the denial of women's rights is a 'problem' of Muslim and Arab communities, it is clear that the situation for women has only worsened since the invasion. The self organisation of groups such as RAWA has done much more for women than the presence of the US military in Iraq or Afghanistan.

As Katha Pollitt notes, the true extent of the violence carried out against women may never be known.

Disabilities

Many of the soldiers and ordinary Iraqis and Afghanis have been left with permanent disabilities, including missing limbs, hearing or site loss, severe burns, and severe post-traumatic and psychological distress that effects the individual and their families for the remainder of their lifetimes.

According to RAWA, Afghanistan now has 800,000 people (100,000 of those children) with disabilities. While some sustained trauma from past wars and landmines, the ongoing invasion and intervention has left the country without an infrastructure or the ability to support its own people.

Many people with disabilities face discrimination and some find it difficult to find work as many jobs are labor intensive. Although the government is supposed to distribute $8US a month to people with disabilities, the stipends are not paid regularly and are difficult for many to receive because they are only given out in government offices in big cities which can be difficult to reach.

LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender)

As in most countries, members of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) communities face a daily struggle with homophobia. In Iraq however, "gay rights is literally a life and death issue". A number of LGBT and human rights organizations have reported the increase of violence against members against the LGBT community since the invasion of Iraq.

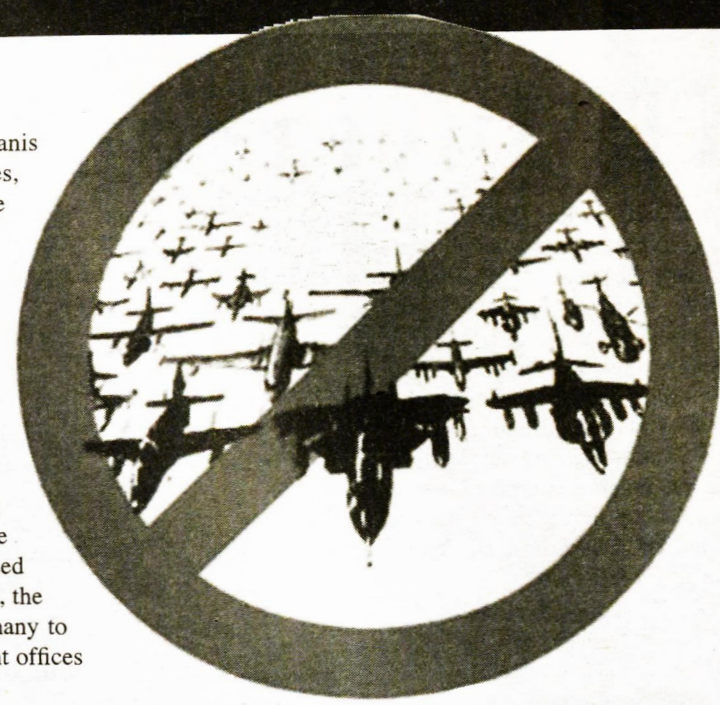
Iraqi LGBT, a group of exiled LGBT Iraqis in the UK, has documented 400 separate cases of LGBT people who have been killed by death squads in Iraq since November 2005. They claim that the Badr Corps are responsible for most of these killings – the corps is the armed militia of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), the largest Shiite political formation and the core of the current US-backed government.

Human rights groups have cited that it was much safer for LGBT peoples under the reign of Sadam Hussein because they have now been driven underground by sectarian violence. This is particularly the case since the fatwa, or religious decree, announced in October 2005 by Iraq's leading Shiite Muslim cleric ordering the execution of all gay Iraqi's.

While some groups have suggested it is unclear whether violence against LGBT peoples is state-sanctioned, it seems clear when considering the recent amnesty announced to release 11,000 of the some 50,000 prisoners in Iraqi jails. Specifically excluded from this amnesty are those incarcerated for being LGBT, or accused of being a terrorist, one of the few points agreed on by both major groups in Government.

State sanctioned violence against LGBT peoples also means that communities cannot turn to police for assistance. Groups such as Outrage! and Iraqi LGBT have working together to run safe houses in Iraq and raise funds to keep them going. Individuals have also developed daily methods of resisting and surviving.

One must question the role of the United States in this situation, who at best is turning a blind eye and at worst sanctioning violence against LGBT perpetuated by invasion. Further, while the US does recognise LGBT refugees, only



14% of lesbians and 16% of gay men have been approved since 1994 (according to the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission).

Refugees

Conservative estimates hold that there are 2.2 million Iraqis that have left Iraq since 2003, the majority to Syria and Jordan, with around 50,000 in Lebanon (80 percent entering illegally). Syria and Jordan have received little aid from the UN or other countries to help support the inflow of refugees.

Jordan, the country with the highest per capita number of refugees in the world, started to restrict access after one in eight of its residents were Iraqis. On September 10, 2007, Syria announced that Iraqis would need visas to enter the country.

According to the AFSC, in Iraq "internally displaced people (IDPs) have left their homes because of violence from occupation troops, threats of abductions or assassinations, or the need for food, water, healthcare and education. The UNHCR estimates that 2 million Iraqis are internally displaced."

"Despite numerous visa restrictions, 100,000 Iraqis have moved out of the Middle East. Sweden, previously one of the most generous countries to Iraqi refugees in Europe, reversed its policy of offering amnesty after a court ruled that Iraq was not an armed conflict zone. Other countries cap the number of visas available to Iraqis. Through 2006, the United States offered only 800 amnesty visas. Countries with large populations of Iraqis include: Germany - 52,900, U.K. - 22,300, Netherlands - 21,800, Sweden - 21,100, Australia - 11,100, and Denmark - 10,700."

Most Iraqi refugees living in Jordan, like so many immigrants and refugees around the world living in the countries as non-citizens, work the lowest paying jobs with an average monthly salary of just over $200. There is no access to healthcare and only a little over half the children attend school.

While the US claims that the denial of women's rights is a 'problem' of Muslim and Arab communities, it is clear that the situation for women has only worsened since the invasion. Self organised groups have done much more for women than the presence of the US military in Iraq or Afghanistan.

Disasters, Shocks, Reclaiming Narratives and Building Community

How can we begin to understand the current global crises? How did we get here, and is there a way out?

Naomi Klein's recently published book *A People's History of Shock and Awe* delivers an interesting evaluation of how we've collectively come to the current global crisis, including the situations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In a December 2007 interview published in *Left Turn* (conducted by Pranjal Tiwari), Klein explains that neoliberalism is a 'revolt of the elites' (understood as those with the greatest wealth and unjust power), and it thrives on disasters, wars, and crises to spread throughout the world. The elites, she says, are engaged in a counter-revolution against reforms that were put in place around the world after the Great Depression. These reforms led to welfare states in some countries, and social democracies in others.

Briefly, Klein makes use of two key concepts, Disaster Capitalism, and the Shock Doctrine. Disaster Capitalism is the use of disasters, such as natural disasters (tsunamis, hurricanes), economic meltdowns, wars and attacks on civilians, to push through radical conservative economic agendas, usually

continued next page

German Mutinies of WWI, from first page

refuse to see that they are only serving the enemy.'

In April 1917 in Liepzig and Berlin, between 125 000 and 200 000 people, including munitions workers, struck for several days demanding better rations and peace without annexation.

A protest began on two ships about the soap ration. The sailors' council formed, soon passed a resolution of congratulations to the revolutionary seamen of Russia, and carried out solidarity strikes when individuals, including sailors from other ships, were punished.

The German mutiny on 1918 helped to end the war. Crews refused to obey orders to go to sea and put out the fires in their ships' engines. This was a development from widespread discontent over conditions and from the belief that they were being sent on a suicide mission because military leaders wanted to see the ships destroyed rather than risk having them handed over to the English. The mutineers surrendered but the fleet was returned to shore. This rebellion gave spirit to other sailors, who returned late – or not at all – from shore leave. On Saturday November 2nd, sailors, arsenal workers and women, joined rallies and festivities on the streets of Kiel which continued for a few days. When these people went to free those imprisoned for their part in the mutiny, they were stopped by a patrol who killed 8 and wounded 29, but were themselves soon killed or wounded. After this, the town was in the control of a soldiers' council, who demanded the release of all prisoners, votes for women, and the abdication of the Emporer. They sent emissaries to other towns and sparked the formation of workers' and soldiers' councils across Germany who called a general strike demanding the abdication of the Emperor.

Drop The Charges Against Lex Wotton!

On November 2004 the Palm Island Aboriginal community responded to years of racist state violence and the death in police custody of Mulrunji Doomadgee with a defiant demonstration demanding justice. The immediate trigger for the protest was the release of the first state inquiry into Mulrunji's death that, while noting that he had suffered a ruptured liver and four broken ribs, whitewashed the death as being the result of a 'scuffle'. Finally, almost two years after the death, a second Coronial inquiry in September 2006 confirmed what everyone already knew: that on November 19, 2004 at the Palm Island police station Senior-Sergeant Chris Hurley had struck Mulrunji with such force that it caused the Aboriginal man to die.

Four hundred people took part in the 2004 Palm Island anti-racist action. The large demonstration marched upon the centres of racist injustice on the island the police station and courthouse. Queensland authorities responded with vicious repression and singled out individuals for persecution. Nearly 20 people were charged. Charges against some of those targeted were dropped in 2005. In March this year a jury acquitted a further four Palm Islanders of charges of 'riot'. But the state continues to target respected Palm Island man, Lex Wotton, whom they allege was the leader of the protest. They have outrageously singled out Wotton with a charge of 'riot with destruction', a charge that could lead to a sentence in excess of ten years.

Lex Wotton, a respected community leader, faces court again on April 7th 2008. He needs money to pay for flights to court (being held in Brisbane) and accommodation and food during his trial.

Lex needs your help to him get through the expensive and lengthy court process.

Please donate any money you can to:
Account name: Lex Wotton
BSB No: 013011
Account No: 761 949 106

Anti-War Direct Action History:
Spies for Peace

In 1963 a small group of libertarian socialists from the radical wing of the anti-nuclear movement in Britain made public secret plans the authorities had made for governing Britain in the case of nuclear wars or political breakdown. These plans had been deliberately kept secret. The group revealed them to support the arguments made by the Nuclear Disarmament movement that the preparations the state was making for future war, were directed against ordinary people rather than being for their welfare. Through chance, the group had discovered an underground bunker intended as a 'Regional Seat of Government' near Reading. Through careful investigation of this bunker, called RSG-6, they found documents & maps about the entire proposed emergency government structure. Taking the ironic name of 'Spies of Peace', they prepared a carefully anonymous pamphlet & distributed 3000 copies; summaries & reprints soon spread the information further.

This sparked a revitalisation of the direct action wing of the anti-nuclear movement. A traditional Easter Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament march was diverted to RSG-6. (The press reporting this made an elaborate show of not revealing where the march went to.) A series of demonstrations were held at RSGs around the country. The police tried to prevent further distribution but thousands of copies were quickly distributed around the country. RSGs in Cambridge & Edinburgh were also picketed. Although the story made headline news when it first broke, the press were quickly issued with a D notice (short for defence notice) which allows the government to suppress information in the interests of national security. The matter was debated in Parliament & the RSGs, no longer secret, were abandoned. Several people were arrested although the original spies were not identified or caught.

Statement from the G20 arrestee solidarity network on February 18

Today is the first day of a 4 week committal hearing for 23 people facing charges relating to the G20 protests that took place in November, 2006. While people attended the G20 protests for numerous reasons, there is only one reason that the state is pursuing these activists through the courts. The reason is to silence those who are understandably angry about the state of world affairs, and to stop them from taking direct action to change society.

So called, 'anti-terror' legislation is attempting to criminalise our ability to organise in a rapidly changing society. Meanwhile sedition laws have been reintroduced to silence those people who are demanding a fairer world. Under the pretext of confronting a small and allegedly dangerous minority, these measures are increasingly being used against anyone with dissenting opinions about the way society is organised.

It is within this context that we should see the G20 trial. This trial is a further attempt to stop people from trying to change the system. We know that this trial is not about so called "violence" because if the government was serious about stopping violence they would stop using it as a political instrument. They would stop threatening mass arrest for attending political rallies; they would disband the military and police, they would withdraw troops from Iraq.

We know that today is not about justice because we live in a country where justice means, in this case, a vicious trial by media and a means for the Police Association to continue their war against Christine Nixon.

If the state believes that by putting political activists on trial that it will stop the fight for a better world, then they will be disappointed.

We encourage all those who value their ability to resist government and corporate greed, and their right to say so without ending up in jail. Thus we have come here today to defend the G20 arrestees, both politically and practically through groups such as the Ongoing G20 Arrestee Solidarity Network, in order to secure a better outcome for these people on trial. Regardless of the accusations made by the police, we are here today to show solidarity with those on trial for believing in a better world. We support the arrestees, and will continue the fight, whatever the outcome.

www.afterG20.org

Five Long Years, from previous page

involving the privatization of services run by the state.

Klein says that many of the services that were provided by governments in the past have already been sold off and are being run by private companies.

Disasters create a perfect opportunity for private companies to come in and offer to help with the disasters for a fee, and often, without the legal hindrances or regulations that a government agency or the military would have to follow.

Klein's Shock Doctrine is a philosophy of power that holds that disaster is the perfect time to push through unpopular policies because the population is in shock, loses its bearings and narratives.

In Iraq the invasion pushed through the program of economic shock therapy when Paul Bremer passed a radical investment law that allowed foreign companies to own 100% of Iraqi assets and take 100% of their profits out.

No doubt, the Shock Doctrine has provided space for conservative social policies to be pushed through as well. Here in Australia, the recent passing of NT Intervention legislation has managed to override the Anti-Discrimination Act and discount the Land Rights Act taking advantage of the shock that most people would have felt given the much played up media around horrific sexual abuse.

Klein proposes that we need to reclaim our narratives and regain our balance to become shock-resistant.

As we approach the 5th year anniversary of the US invasion of Iraq, the media and governments will likely focus on the military – bombings, fighting, whether or not the western allied countries are winning, and tallies of the numbers of dead and wounded.

Talking heads will ponder and debate over whether western troops should stay or go, and whether we have a responsibility to stay after having contributed to the current instabilities.

It is easy to feel powerless about changing the governments' positions, to ending the occupation, the fear and the needless suffering, but we mustn't give up. Those who stand against the invasions must continue to speak out at every turn, through rallies, forums, direct action, and daily discussions with friends, family and workmates.

As well, on this anniversary, we might do our best to look past the media hype, past stories of military wins. We can begin to look for, listen to and share stories. Perhaps a way out is to look to our shared humanity, and to create a shared narrative.

Grassroots Struggles & Communities of Change

Communities of women and LGBT peoples have been speaking out, fighting back and organising daily resistance in Iraq and Afghanistan well before the invasions, and continue to do so today, There are also concerned people who are paying attention to the rising number of wounded in need of medical attention, and refugees. A few of these communities and organisations are listed below, along with websites that provide news and community resources, and blogs that could allow us to begin to build a shared narrative.

RAWA: In spite of the dangers faced by women everyday, The Revolutionary Association of Women in Afghanistan (RAWA) has been operating since 1977. Initially speaking out against the abuse suffered under the Taliban, RAWA now also creates and sustains education centers for girls and shares the stories of women in Afghanistan. RAWA has issued a number of communiqués speaking out against the US invasion and continued occupation. RAWA, www.rawa.org, or in Australia, get in touch with the Support Association for the Women of Afghanistan (SAWA)-Australia: http://www.sawa-australia.org/index.html

OWFI: The Organisation of Women's Freedom in Afghanistan (OWFI) runs shelters for battered women in four Iraqi cities and an "underground railroad" to conduct women at risk of murder to safe havens. It is currently running a campaign to ban honour killings and force Kurdish and Iraqi legal authorities to investigate and prosecute them. OWFI's website can be found at: www.equalityiniraq.org.

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC): The AFSC is working to connect concerned Americans with Iraqi refugees attempting to settle in the U.S. http://www.afsc.org/iraq/refugee-crisis.htm

The Direct Aid Initiative (DAI): The DAI is a humanitarian relief project intended to build bridges of friendship and support with Iraqis displaced as the result of the ongoing Iraqi crises through providing funds for crucial medical expenses, and supporting an engagement with the Iraqi people that is not solely predicated on a US military presence.

DAI is a program of the Middle East Cultural and Charitable Society founded in partnership with Electronic Iraq.

This effort is not intended as charity. Rather, it is an attempt at ongoing restitution to Iraqis for all that has been lost as a result of devastating sanctions, the 2003 invasion, and the ongoing occupation.

DAI's work is made possible through the support of concerned people and families, primarily residents of the United States who oppose current US policy in Iraq and wish to contribute constructively to the needs of Iraqis. They rely on grassroots involvement to fund their efforts. DAI's website at www.directaidiraq.org.

Iraqi LGBT: A Human Rights group run by Iraqis supporting lesbians, gay, bisexuals and transgender people. Currently the Iraqi LGBT is raising funds to support and donate money to LGBT activists in Iraq in order to assist their efforts to communicate information about the wave of homophobic murders in Iraq to the outside world.

Funds raised will also help provide LGBTs under threat of honour killing with refuge in the safer parts of Iraq (including safe houses and food), and assist efforts to help them seek asylum abroad. Check: iraqilgbtuk.blogspot.com for updates and ways to contribute.http://iraqilgbtuk.blogspot.com/ ❖

Bring the Troops home:
A nice but pointless sentiment in the face of disaster capitalism.

Melbourne readers might recall the 'Donald Woods deserved it' themed breakfast show on the local community radio station 3CR. During this infamous breakfast slot, presenters expressed the opinion that Iraqi kidnap victim Donald Woods, was far from the average bloke just trying to earn a decent income to pay his debts and feed his family. They stated that despite this image portrayed in the corporate media, Donald Woods should be viewed as a war profiteer, and part of the privatised 'shadow army' of a brutal imperialist invasion. His kidnap and murder should, they argued, be recognised- even celebrated- as an act of Iraqi resistance to the invasion. This outraged even the listeners of this notoriously left wing radio station.

The questions that this stunt raises are still relevant. Should contractors working in Iraq and the governments that pave the way for them to exist be treated as if their actions in Iraq are 'business as usual'? Is the 'just doing my job' excuse a viable explanation when that job is to profit from invasion and occupation?

Several websites exist that advocate for and support people who have returned from working as mercenaries and contractors in Iraq - like Donald Woods. These sites display information about the various employment contracts on offer and highlight the lack of health care for injured returned contractors. The rate of suicide and PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) is high for returned contractors and health insurance payouts to fund even urgent surgery, in many cases, come only after lengthy legal battles. Advocates for the contractors argue that they should have access to the same pensions, healthcare and respect as returned soldiers get for fighting in a war and serving their country. These sites argue that the employers, such as KBR, Blackwater, SEII, Haliburton, are not taking enough responsibility for the safety of their employees, and are able to escape accountability when things go wrong. One example given is the 2004 incident in which 4 Blackwater contractors were kidnapped and killed. In response, Blackwater immediately filed a lawsuit to prevent the families claiming damages.

Are we surprised to find out that the people who work to effect the brutal occupation and annihilation of Iraqi civilisation are being exploited themselves? Subcontracting is the neo-liberal employment relationship of choice as it allows the 'employer' to shirk all responsibility normally built into an employment relationship. Getting much of the dirty, dangerous and brutal work done by contractors at arms length, conveniently saves the invading government's political responsibility and embarrassment, and has enabled the occupation of Iraq to proceed almost unnoticed by many Australians. By issuing contracts invading states are required to pay for the needs of, and be responsible for, far fewer personnel than if the work were to be done through the more traditional form of army cannon fodder and civil servants The companies that win the tenders to provide security, logistics, catering etc then, in turn, take as little responsibility for their employees as possible. These companies that win government tenders in Iraq are making some of the biggest profits possible on this planet today. Many of these international companies also have offices, and contracts to carry out work in Australia. For example KBR are paid to run the Grand Prix motor race in Melbourne.

Should contractors working in Iraq and the governments that pave the way for them to exist be treated as if their actions in Iraq are 'business as usual'? Is the 'just doing my job' excuse a viable explanation when that job is to profit from invasion and occupation?

Accountability- whose voices are heard?

Returned contractors from Iraq tell of poverty and ill health on return to the United States - of PTSD, of having to 'bullet proof' the cabs of their convoy trucks with found objects, and of running over Iraqi children who have been pushed in front of their convoys as part of an attempt to slow down and hijack them. When you read these stories you get a sense of how many voices are not making their way into the mainstream media, of the breadth of brutality in Iraq. It is easy to see why this information is absent from the rhetoric of the invading nations political leaders.

If the contractors seem unaccountable and irresponsible to the people that they hire how must they seem to the family and community of the child who is mowed down by the contractors convoy?

Human Right First, a non-government organisation, has reported on the unaccountability and brutality of contractors in Iraq. They explain that "the most recurrent violations involve the use of lethal force against civilians in what the private security contractors call 'convoy protection'. Convoys often speed down the wrong side of the road, use gunfire to warn off civilians, and routinely fire on civilian vehicles in response to perceived threats. Although some incidents involving the questionable use of force by contractors against civilian and other alleged contractor abuse have been reported in the press or through official channels, very few have been investigated and almost none prosecuted". Human Rights First calls for greater accountability to be forced upon the contractors, arguing that the US military should take over the tasks currently delegated to contractors, thereby ensuring higher levels of accountability, training and discipline. They ask "is it really cheaper for the U.S. to rely extensively on private contractors rather than using U.S. military personnel or civil servants?"

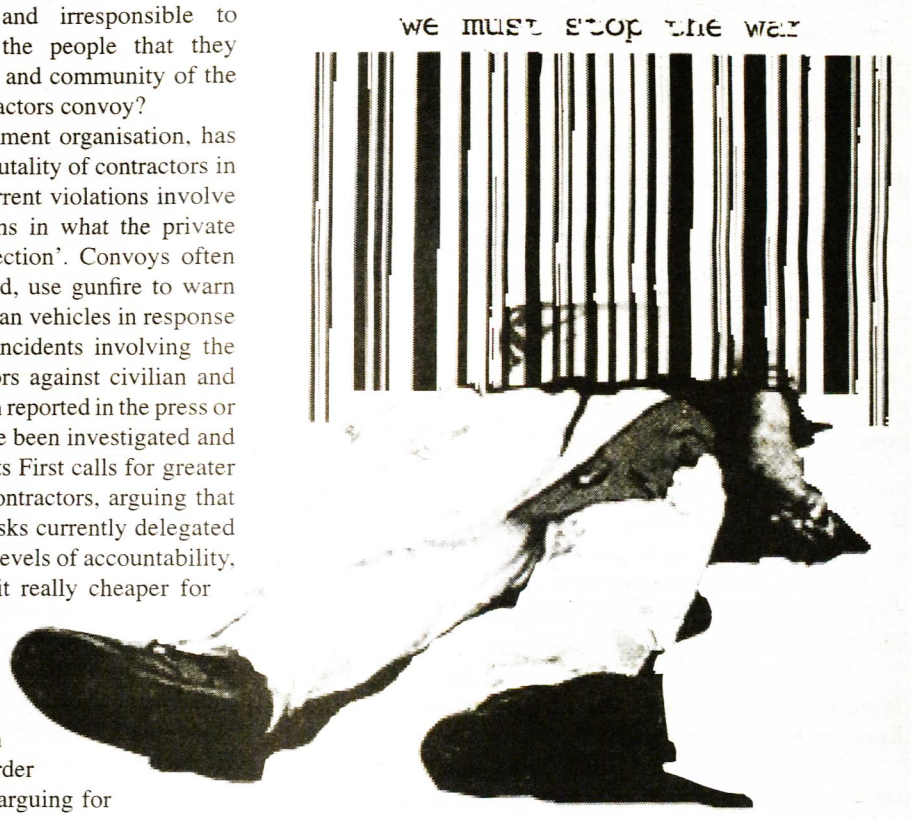
I would ask a different set of questions – since when has anyone been able to hold the army accountable, in order to make the brutality cease? How can arguing for a military run invasion and civil servant run occupation seem like a good idea and a desirable way forward?

The 'normalisation' of the occupation that our government and the war profiteers wish to create has been effective, largely through the tactic of privatising the occupation i.e. through the control and creation of markets, profits and employment. However what is absent from this sanitised vision of occupation, is the fact that Iraqis are not getting jobs, safety, healthcare, education, food, or political control over their communities. In fact, Iraqis are losing these things in the most profound way possible. Their experiences, and ability to make decisions about their lives and futures, have not only been systematically silenced, but also completely removed.

Boomerang Aid

A quick look at the AID WATCH report on Australian 'aid' to Iraq underlines the self interested authoritarianism of Australia's role in the so-called democratisation of Iraq. Australia has used key positions in the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) to pursue Australian commercial interests. The 'reconstruction' of Iraq is indeed a candy store, with profits to be made everywhere.

Two key Australians appointed in the CPA were Trevor Flugge and Michael Long - these men have been made famous by the Cole enquiry, the AWB scandal and the gun toting semi-naked photo featured in the corporate media. John Howard hand picked Flugge 'to co-head the CPA's Ministry of Agriculture,



Anti-War Direct Action History: **US Troops in Vietnam**

The GI anti-war movement within the army was one of the decisive factors in ending the war.

From mild forms of political protest & disobedience of war orders, the resistance among the ground troops grew into a massive & widespread "quasi-mutiny" by 1970 & 1971. Soldiers went on "search & avoid" missions, intentionally skirting clashes with the Vietnamese, & often holding three-day-long pot parties instead of fighting.

Initially, response to mutinous behaviour was swift & harsh. However, as the war progressed the stockades (military prisons) became over-crowded with AWOLs & laced with political organisers. In July of 1968 prisoners seized control of the stockade at Fort Bragg & held it for three days, & in June of 1969 prisoners rebelled in the Fort Dix stockade & inflicted extensive damage before being brought under control. Probably the most famous incident of stockade resistance occurred at the Presidio, where 27 prisoners staged a sit-down during morning formation to protest the shot-gun slaying of a fellow prisoner by a stockade guard. The men were charged with mutiny & initially received very heavy sentences, but their sacrifice had considerable impact around the country. After a year their sentences were reduced to time served.

By 1970, the U.S. Army had 65,643 deserters, roughly the equivalent of four infantry divisions.

"Frag incidents" or "fragging" was soldier slang in Vietnam for the killing of strict, unpopular & aggressive officers & NCO's (Non-Commissioned Officers, or "non-coms"). The word apparently originated from enlisted men using fragmentation grenades to off commanders.

Congressional hearings on fraggings held in 1973 estimated that roughly 3% of officer & non-com deaths in Vietnam between 1961 & 1972 were a result of fraggings. But these figures were only for killings committed with grenades, & didn't include officer deaths from automatic weapons fire, handguns & knifings. The Army's Judge Advocate General's Corps estimated that only 10% of fragging attempts resulted in anyone going to trial.

By 1972 roughly 300 anti-war & anti-military newspapers, with names like *Harass the Brass, All Hands Abandon Ship* & *Star Spangled Bummer* had been put out by enlisted people. Riots & anti-war demonstrations took place on bases in Asia, Europe & in the United States.

The Navy was racked by political organising & severe racial unrest. Sometimes, black & white sailors would rebel together. The most significant of these took place on board the USS Constellation off Southern California, in November 1972. In response to a threat of less-than-honourable discharges against several black sailors, a group of over 100 black & white sailors staged a day-&-a-half long sit-in. Fearfull of losing control of his ship at sea to full-scale mutiny, the ship's commander brought the Constellation back to San Diego. One hundred & thirty-two sailors were allowed to go ashore. They refused orders to re-board the ship several days later, staging a defiant dockside strike on the morning of November 9. In spite of the seriousness of the rebellion, not one of the sailors involved was arrested.

Sabotage was an extremely useful tactic. On May 26, 1970, the USS Anderson was preparing to steam from San Diego to Vietnam. But someone had dropped nuts, bolts & chains down the main gear shaft. A major breakdown occurred, resulting in thousands of dollars worth of damage & a delay of several weeks. Several sailors were charged, but because of a lack of evidence the case was dismissed. With the escalation of naval involvement in the war the level of sabotage grew.

The U.S. government would be happy to see the history of the Vietnam War buried & forgotten. Not least because it saw the world's greatest superpower defeated by a peasant army, but mainly because of what defeated the war effort – the collective resistance of the enlisted men & women in the U.S. armed forces, who mutinied, sabotaged, shirked, fragged & smoked their way to a full withdrawal & an end to the conflict.

Edited from http://libcom.org/history/vietnam-gi-resistance

where he ensured that laws were passed that the average neo-liberal mortgage holder would find unfair.

Australian officials such as Flugge have ensured that the majority of the AusAID budget devoted to reconstruction in Iraq has returned to Australia via the purchase of grain and development of agricultural policy and products.

It's clear that it is the aid budgets of invading countries that fund the multi-million dollar 'reconstruction' tenders. Australian companies profiteering from the occupation of Iraq have their hands deep in the till. South Australian company SAGRIC, along with the CSIRO and the US corporation DAI won a contract worth $120 million to revitalise Iraqi agriculture. This involves SAGRIC supplying seeds and fertilizer for which they hold monopoly patent rights, ensuring that Iraqi farmers must continue to buy the seeds each season instead of saving seeds from last year's crop. The beneficiaries of the monopoly patent rights system, that Flugge ensured, are the Packer owned company GRM as well as ANZ, SAGRIC Int'l, Worley Parsons and the AWB.

Aid Watch explains that "the CPA, with full Australian participation [has restructured the Iraqi economy ensuring that] foreign corporations could own 100% of Iraqi industries, including banks, and retain all profits. Tariffs and duties on imports were recinded, thus facilitating the flooding of the economy with cheap foreign products. Australia benefited directly as a result, as Iraqi farmers have no protection against wheat imports. Iraqi's had no say in determining these policies, but plenty of Australians did. At least 15 aid-funded Australian public servants wrote the CPA budget that established many of these policies".

It's clear that it is the aid budgets of invading countries that fund the multi-million dollar 'reconstruction' tenders. Australian companies profiteering from the occupation of Iraq have their hands deep in the till. For this reason, it is not enough for us to call for the troops to be brought home. In order to stop the war profiteers looting Iraq we need to find out who these profiteers are and we need to hold them to account.

This is far from the whole story of Australian official involvement in the occupation. The role that the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and the WTO [World Trade Organisation] played in shaping the economic policies of the CPA is not evident. However, what it does do is give an idea of the shape of authoritarian neo-liberal hell that is being created in Iraq.

Vast 'armies' of corporate sector office workers are making the day to day work of contractors in Iraq possible. Some of them are in Australia, recruiting, drawing up contracts with 'sub-contractors', suppressing information about the brutality of the work and the extent of their profits. For this reason, it is not enough for us to call for the troops to be brought home. In order to stop the war profiteers looting Iraq we need to find out who these profiteers are and we need to hold them to account.

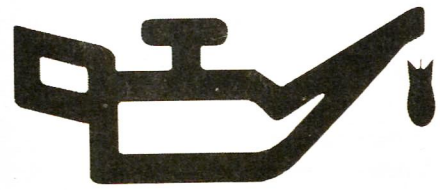
It is clear that the argument that this occupation is somehow linked to Australian or American national security, is a farce. It's important for us to also reject the insane notion that the invasion and occupation of Iraq can bestow freedom, the noble unseating of a dictator, and the selfless gift of democracy.

We must reject those traditional anti-war protest forms that rely on the idea that there is such a thing as a just war in the national interest, that we need the army, that the Australian army works for the benefit of us and our allies. We know that when the Australian troops are brought home from Iraq they will be redeployed hand in hand with AusAid, to 'police' the brutal imposition of neo-liberalism in the pacific- in Samoa, in Tonga, in PNG, in East Timor, in Fiji and so on.

Our most important job is to better understand what Naomi Klein calls disaster capitalism. The national governments of the invading forces are using their power to enable companies and industries to reap massive profits from the occupation. This is a war in which our government is increasing its power and range, through enabling private contractors to carry out this blood-thirsty form of imperialist capitalism. Our anti-war message should address the reality of the daily work of occupation carried out by these contractors

We should continue to pressure the Rudd government to withdraw troops from all places - they are sent to impose a capitalist world order. Indeed, we must demand that the army be disbanded in its entirety so that we can get on with the work of building alliances and offering mutual aid from the bottom up. Importantly we should also draw attention to the way that 'aid' money is funding imperialist projects and profiteers, and demand that this stops. Can the blueprint of creating a militarised hyper neo-liberalised state be overturned and replaced with a more liveable alternative, dreamt up by Iraqis themselves? How can we resist, disrupt and discredit the war profiteers and the governments that have enabled their existence?

Find out about contractors in iraq:
http://www.publicintegrity.org/WOWII/database.aspx?act=toponehundredcontractors
http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/iraq/contractindex.htm ❖



Anti-War Direct Action History: **Iraqi Mutinies in Gulf War 1**

There has been a long tradition of class struggle in Iraq, particularly since the revolution in 1958. With Saddam's strategy of a permanent war drive to maintain social peace this struggle has often taken the form of mass desertion from the army.

Following the invasion of Kuwait in 1990 there were many demonstrations against its continued occupation. Even the ruling Ba'athist Party was obliged to organise such demonstrations under the slogan: "No to Kuwait: We only want Saddam and Iraq!" in order to head off anti-war feeling. With the dramatic rise in the price of necessities - food prices alone rising to twenty times their pre-invasion levels - there was little enthusiasm for war.

Despite a 200% pay rise, desertion from the army became common. In the city of Sulaimania alone there were an estimated 30,000 deserters. In Kut there were 20,000. So overwhelming was the desertion that it became relatively easy for soldiers to bribe their way out of the army by giving money to their officers. But these working class conscripts did not merely desert, they organised. In Kut thousands marched on the local police station & forced the police to concede an end to the harassment of deserters.

Two days after the beginning of the war anti-war riots broke out in Raniah & later in Sulaimania.

When the Gulf war ended, it was not by the military victory of America & the Allies. It was ended by the mass desertion of thousands of Iraqi soldiers. So overwhelming was the refusal to fight for the Iraqi state on the part of its conscripted army that, contrary to all predictions, not one Allied soldier was killed by hostile fire in the final ground offensive to recapture Kuwait. Indeed the sheer scale of this mutiny is perhaps unprecedented in modern military history.

But these mutinous troops did not simply flee back to Iraq. On their return many of them turned their guns against the Iraqi state, sparking a simultaneous uprising in both Southern Iraq & in Kurdistan to the North. Only *the central region of Iraq surrounding Baghdad remained* firmly in the state's hands in the weeks following the end of the war.

The last thing the American government wanted was to be drawn into a prolonged military occupation of Iraq in order to suppress the uprisings. It was far more efficient to back the existing state. But there was no time to insist on the removal of Saddam Hussein. They could ill afford the disruption this would cause. Hence, almost overnight, Bush's hostility to the butcher of Baghdad evaporated. The two rival butchers went into partnership.

Edited from 'Ten days that shook Iraq - inside information from an uprising', by Wildcat (UK), http://libcom.org/library/ten-days-shook-iraq-uprising-1990-1991-wildcat

Anti-War Direct Action History: **Worldwide Protests Against the First Gulf War**

Across the world, millions of people took to the streets to protest against the war.

In Bangladesh there was a one day general strike in September 1990, in protest of the despatch of Bangladeshi troops to the Gulf.

In Pakistan there was a general strike in February against the US bombing of Iraq. Palestinians in the city of Jericho held a three day strike in mourning for the 300 killed in the US attack on the Baghdad bomb shelter. Militants defied the Israeli imposed curfew to call for action through their megaphones.

In the first week of the war, more than 2 million Spanish workers stopped work for two hours demanding an end to the war & the recall of three Spanish warships.

In Germany draft resisters forced to work as hospital orderlies went on strike for three days in opposition to the war, & in Italy, 100,000 workers & 30,000 students stopped work on 22 February.

In Turkey, 70% of universities were hit by anti-war boycotts in November 1990.

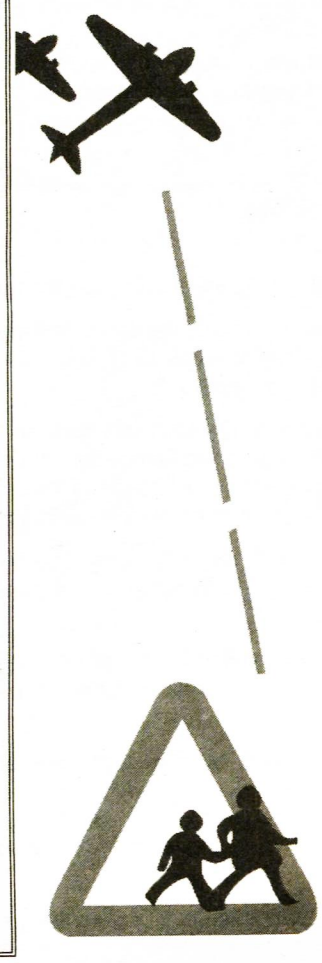
At UK arms manufacturer GEC Marconi (makers of navigation, radar & missile guidance systems), the war coincided with the sacking of 800 workers. Workers opposed to the war organised an unofficial overtime ban & go slow on equipment headed for the Gulf, slowing down production & stopping some equipment from getting there.

In Germany there were frequent attempts to block military depots & barracks. At the end of November US military transport was held up for four hours by a blockade of Mannheim harbour in southern Germany. In January, 10,000 blocked the entrance to the US Rhine-Main Air Base outside Frankfurt. Military vehicles were set on fire at the armed forces barracks in Haan, near Hilden.

In Holland, before the war started, protestors were active against the transport of US arms through the country en route to the Gulf. Many groups joined to try & block the movement by trains, lorries & boats, with people getting arrested for sitting in front of trains. Incendiary devices were used to sabotage railways.

In January 1991 anti-war protestors blockaded the entrance to the Frankfurt Stock Exchange & pelted the dealers with eggs & paint bombs. AIDS direct action group ACT UP staged a "Day of Desperation" in New York on January 23 1991. Protestors forced the CBS national evening news off the air when they invaded the set shouting "Fight AIDS, not Arabs". 500 activists shut down Grand Central Station for an hour during the evening rush hour, floating a large banner reading "Money for AIDS not war" to the ceiling with helium-filled balloons.

Edited from 'Do you remember the first time?', by No War But The Class War, http://libcom.org/history/1990-1991-resistance-to-the-gulf-war



'Mommy, What Was A Border?' A call to resistance against the border regime

From the 2007 No Borders Camp in Calexico/Mexicali

There is a regime of terror spreading across the land. Racist laws, arbitrary detention, unwarranted prosecution and the deportation of thousands are dividing families and driving a wedge through our communities. An emboldened Department of Homeland Security is attacking people in their homes, workplaces, on the highways, at grocery stores. Police agencies nationwide are collaborating in the attack on immigrants, one of the most visible targets in America's war against the "other".

In southern Arizona, we are on the front lines of this war. Every morning more than 2,000 Border Patrol agents report for duty through Tucson out into the Altar Valley and Tohono O'odham nation to the west. Remote camera towers monitor every activity of the civilian population. Walls, roads and other enforcement infrastructure have ravaged the fragile landscape. Racist vigilantes have operated for years with virtual impunity. And every year hundreds upon hundreds of migrants die attempting to cross the desert.

There is a logic to this terror regime, and it is by no means unique to this place and this time. Around the world governments have enacted laws and policies aimed at persecuting and excluding indigenous peoples and people who have migrated across national boundaries. Detention centers, surveillance, and militarization are among the hallmarks of this regime.

The border is the flipside of colonialism. It is a physical and psychological weapon meant to assert the perceived entitlement of a settler population, and enforce the global dynamics that maintain power and privilege. The border is not just a line between one country and another -- it is an ideology that says: "You should not exist in this space".

Neo-liberal globalization cannot operate without the border. It is no coincidence that Operation Gatekeeper was launched at the same time as the North American Free Trade Agreement. Initiatives like the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America make this connection explicit by linking the integration of markets and regulations to the integration of security infrastructure. While capital is freed to exploit whomever it wants, wherever it wants, our lives are to be increasingly scrutinized, our bodies controlled.

We who live and struggle in the borderlands grapple with many questions. How do we organize, live alternatively, ensure emotional wellbeing and develop alliances in this low-intensity war zone? What forms of resistance might supersede the militarization of our lives and the divisions that borders impose?

There is hope and active resistance developing all around us. Immigrant communities and their allies are fighting back, organizing migra-watch and monitoring the activities of the Border Patrol. Activists are working in detention centers to support those locked up and ensure they are not forgotten; still others have locked themselves to the gates of these centers, temporarily shutting them down. The operations of Minutemen and other vigilante groups are monitored, confronted and disrupted to the point that they've been driven out of some communities altogether.

In the southern Arizona desert, volunteers patrol trails every day looking for those lost and on the brink of death, providing medical assistance and documenting the systematic abuse and neglect of law enforcement.

In Bisbee-Arizona and Naco-Arizona/Sonora, border communities have held a bi-national fiesta and volleyball game across the international line since before the wall was constructed, making sport of the physical barrier and 'serving' to de-legitimize its presence.

In Arivaca, Arizona residents are reclaiming their privacy by turning the Border Patrol / Boeing watchtower bases into picnic grounds. Kites crisscross the sky, amusing the children and frustrating surveillance efforts. Locals are mounting a lawsuit to challenge the existence of surveillance towers outright.

Organizers in Tucson maintain a list of those who have died and disappeared in the desert, and mount searches for the remains of women, children and men in order to reunite them with their loved ones.

Members of the Tohono O'odham nation are refusing to allow the border to divide them, continuing cross-border pilgrimages and resisting the presence of the Border Patrol and Homeland Security on their land.

On the south side of the line between 'ambos' Nogales - nestled between Mexican customs, people smugglers, the border wall, the U.S. National Guard and the never-ending line of NAFTA trucks - there is a Migrant Aid Station giving support and safety to the hundreds of hungry, sick, and abused people repatriated to Mexico by Border Patrol each day.

The border is not just a line between one country & another -- it is an ideology that says: "You should not exist in this space"... Together we are developing a politics, a praxis of opposition to the border & all that it represents.

Immigrant, indigenous and youth-based community groups are organizing house meetings and conducting human rights trainings to build confidence and resistance against the ICE raids and terrorization of their families and neighborhoods.

Even while threatened with harassment and arrest regular folks in the borderlands and across the United States provide sanctuary and support to those targeted by the security apparatus, in direct refusal of the state's efforts at criminalization.

In Europe, Oceania and elsewhere movements have been developing for years in response to the state's violent repression of freedom of movement. Over the last decade No Borders Camps and other anti-border actions have been organized around the world, continuing this year with No Border Camps in Ukraine in August and near London at Gatwick airport in September.

Together we are developing a politics, a praxis of resistance in opposition to the border and all that it represents. This opposition is explicitly in solidarity with all the other struggles around the world against neo-liberalism and authoritarianism. We are refusing to be divided by the symbolic borders of race, nationality, language and gender.

This movement is just the latest phase in a resistance that has been ongoing in this hemisphere for more than 500 years. Despite all of their efforts, they have been unable to silence us.

From http://noborderscamp.org ❖

pictures: breakout from the Woomera Detention Centre, South Australia, 2002

Anti-War Direct Action History:
May Day 1971

"If the government doesn't stop the war, we're going to stop the government!" May Day 1971

The largest & most audacious civil disobedience action in American history is also one of the least remembered. This was an attempt, in Washington DC on Mayday 1971, (organised by the 'Mayday Tribe') to disrupt or seriously impede the everyday functioning of the U.S government.

An elaborate tactical manual, distributed in advance, detailed twenty-one key bridges & traffic circles for protesters to blockade, with stalled vehicles, jury-rigged barricades, or their bodies. The immediate goal was to snarl traffic so completely that government employees could not get to their jobs. The larger objective was "to create the spectre of social chaos while maintaining the support or at least toleration of the broad masses of American people."

It was framed with specific reference to the limitations of earlier mass protests against the Vietnam War "Nobody gives a damn how many dumb sheep can flock to Washington demonstrations, which are dull ceremonies of dissent that won't stop the war" declared one leaflet.

A force of more than 14,000 police & National Guardsmen was mobilized to remove the 20,000 + radicals from the streets, & a staggering 13,500 people were placed under arrest- more protesters arrested than in any other single event in U.S. history.

According to one of the few historians to have studied the event, Mayday so unnerved the Nixon administration that it palpably speeded U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. White House aide Jeb Magruder said that the protest had "shaken" Nixon & his staff, while CIA director Richard Helms called Mayday "a very damaging kind of event," noting that it was "one of the things that was putting increasing pressure on the administration to try & find some way to get out of the war."

Look at http://libcom.org/library/ending-war-inventing-movement-mayday-1971

Radical Youth in DC: Return of the Black Bloc

By Matthew Provonsha

A few weeks ago many thousands of people marched on Washington D.C. to protest the American escalation in Iraq and the looming attack on Iran. It makes little difference whether it was one-hundred thousand people or five-hundred thousand, in any case we were but a small sampling of the vast and growing number of Americans concerned with social justice and appalled by American aggression. Unfortunately I have seen very little written about the group with whom I marched, which seemed far more significant and inspiring than the star-studded rally and slow-going stroll put on by more mainstream demonstrators. I am referring to the Radical Youth Contingent, a varied bunch of young men and women who got together on January 27th and took to the streets.

The most important thing was not that we broke through police lines, smashed the windows of a Fox 'News' van and a recruitment center, or left graffiti on the steps of the Capitol building. The most important thing was that we ran free, and got away with it.

We were largely organised by the Students for a Democratic Society, and we assembled under their flags as well as the red-and-black flags others brought. It would be impossible to say how many of us there were because at every stage some were joining in and others opting out, but as before less turns on this than would seem. The most important thing was not that we broke through police lines, smashed the windows of a Fox 'News' van and a recruitment center, or left graffiti on the steps of the Capitol building. The most important thing was that we ran free, and got away with it. We succeeded in leaving messages where they are hardest to wash away, in the memories of everyone involved. Of course everyone who participated will remember the day with great fondness. For young students and wage-earners accustomed to meaningless rote labor, actively participating in anything makes for an event not soon forgot.

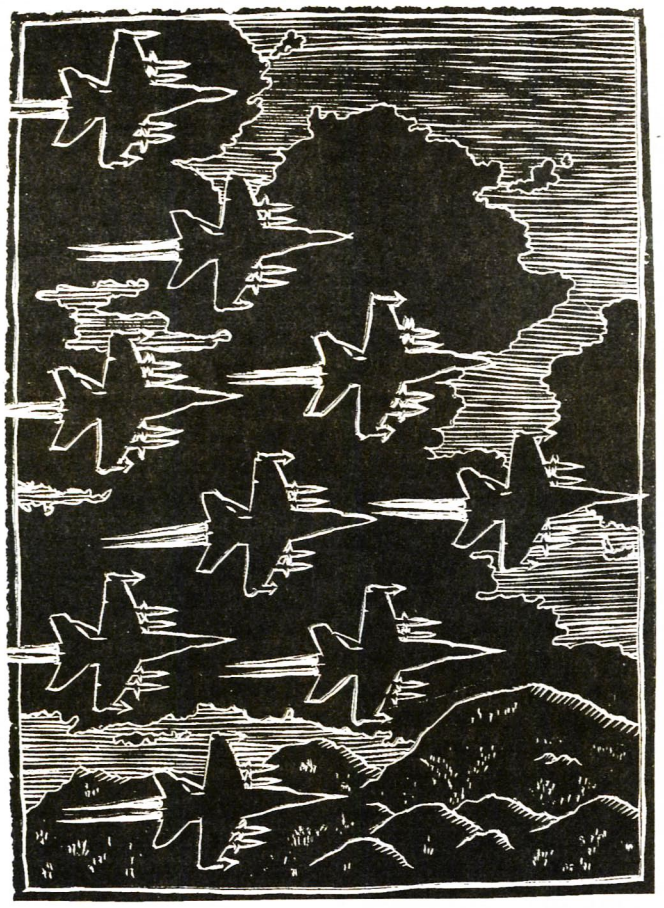
Many were excited to see us and stared or snapped pictures along with other interested spectators, as we chanted, "Off the sidewalks, Into the streets!," among other things. No protestors, that I saw, seemed put off by us, even as we broke away from the main march onto roads not permitted for it. A great many, however, seemed perplexed. The source of this confusion is hardly obscure. In the news coverage these bourgeois liberals read, watch, and hear, police brutality is played down or ignored completely, while property destruction is presented as the horrific violence of crazed ideologues. Likewise state violence overseas is generally defended or ignored, and often truths are omitted and lies repeated. So I am not shocked if, when they see a black bloc, some wonder, "Why are these kids so angry?"

Well, take this as one answer to that question. When I turn on the news, it turns my stomach. What disgusts me most is not the transparent jingoism of Fox, nor even the celebrity gossip so prevalent on CNN and elsewhere, but the docility and uniformity of America's media in general. Then, of course, there is the news itself. I was only in ninth grade the day planes crashed into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, but like many young people it is how my government responded that would have the greater effect on me. I witnessed the society I grew up in descend into madness. Now more than half-a-decade later it hardly surprises us to hear that America is secretly torturing uncharged suspects, or gearing up for another war. In every recent conversation I have had about these things everyone I have talked to has expressed a deeply-rooted feeling of futility, as though they profoundly wished that something could be done to change course but are sure, unhappily, that nothing can be done. If hysteria prevailed in the immediate aftermath of the September 11th attacks it is a crushing cynicism that has replaced it. It should go without saying that both responses are completely irrational, we certainly weren't all in harm's way then and we certainly aren't all powerless now.

The results of the news business are apparent. My favorite example is that polls show that Americans think that too much of their tax-money goes to humanitarian-aid, but when asked how much would be appropriate the figure they give tends to be higher than the actual one! UNICEF has reported that over 30,000 children die every day from easily preventable causes, but Americans are conditioned to be concerned about Britney Spears or other stars through whom they are to live vicariously. Even at protests, we are presented with "stars of consumption" and "stars of decision-making" (in Guy Debord's words), such as Jane Fonda and Dennis Kucinich. But we want no stars. I for one don't want to live in a country in which one person, like Jane Fonda, can spend millions of dollars on whatever she wants, while thousands of others cannot even afford rent, and millions more cannot afford healthcare. That these conditions exist in the richest country in the world should shame us all. That we allow much worse to go on overseas is just unspeakable.

In short, thousands of people are dying needlessly every day, and, as the situationists poetically put it, "most won't die because they're already dead.

" So why am I angry? Why aren't you angry? ❖



Anti-War Direct Action History: **After WWI, Britain**

After the armistice of WWI, British troops continued to organise & rebel because they wanted to go home, not be sent to Russia to fight the Bolsheviks or to be kept on in Britain to control civil unrest & working class rebellion. Although the Government were insisting that only volunteers were being sent to Russia there was widespread knowledge that many unwilling conscripts had been packed off. This combined with antagonism towards officers, hatred of arbitrary discipline, & a revolt against bad conditions & the delay, confusion & uncertainty about demobilisation.

One mutiny began in Folkestone, on January 3 1919, with the news that men were to be sent back to France. The *Daily Herald* reported in somewhat euphoric terms:

'On their own signal - three taps of a drum - two thousand men, unarmed & in perfect order, demonstrated the fact that they were fed up - absolutely fed up. Their plan of action had been agreed upon the night before: no military boat should be allowed to leave Folkestone for France that day or any day until they were guaranteed their freedom. It was sheer, flat, brazen, open & successful mutiny. Pickets were posted at the harbour. Only Canadian & Australian soldiers were to be allowed to sail - if they wanted to. As a matter of no very surprising fact they did not want to. One officer tried to interfere. He leapt across the gangway & got a rough-house.'

Meanwhile troop trains were arriving in Folkestone with more men returning from leave & on their way to France. They were met with pickets... in a mass they joined the demonstrators.

On Saturday a great procession of soldiers, swelled now to about 10,000, marched through the town. Everywhere the townspeople showed their sympathy. At midday a mass meeting decided to form a soldiers union. They appointed their officials & chose their spokesmen.' Sir William Robertson, from the War Office, came down from London & conceded the men's demands. Everyone was to be given seven days leave. The men were allowed to elect one hundred & forty demobilisation committees, from the rank & file. Complete indemnity was promised. The Herald said:

'Everywhere the feeling is the same, the war is over, we won't have to fight in Russia, & we mean to go home.' There were fears that soldiers would be sent to fight in Russia but the message came over loud & clear: the vast majority were not prepared to be used.

Another 4,000 troops demonstrated at Dover, in support of the Folkestone mutiny. They held a mass meeting in the harbour station & selected a deputation to meet the authorities. They then marched up to the Town Hall behind their deputies & formed lines on either side of the road, overflowing into the side streets. The mayor had to admit them into the Town Hall, where a piano was provided for their entertainment. Nearby a cinema was opened for the soldiers to enjoy a free film show.

It is thanks to the courage of those who put their own needs before loyalty to the flag that a much larger contingent of British troops was not sent to Russia.

Edited from 'Mutinies', by Dave Lamb, http://libcom.org/library/mutinies-dave-lamb-solidarity

Anti-War Direct Action History: **San Francisco Direct Action to Stop the War**

After more than a decade of military aggression & genocidal sanctions, on March 19, 2003, the United States launched its most recent attack against the people of Iraq. The following day, the people of the world took to the streets in protest. More than 20,000 turned out in San Francisco to take part in coordinated direct actions which shut down the Financial District of the city. Additional targets included military recruitment centers, the Bay Bridge & the Federal Building. Actions continued on March 21 & in the end more than 2,200 people were arrested with virtually all charges being dropped.

These actions were organized by Direct Action to Stop the War (DASW), a grouping of activists & affinity groups who functioned & made decisions in a decentralized, non-hierarchical, consensus-based manner. First coming together in late 2002, DASW organized in the months leading up to the invasion of Iraq planning actions for "Day X" when the war started. DASW lasted until 2004 & mobilized for direct actions locally against war profiteers such as Bechtel, Chevron & Lockheed Martin, & nationally, such as at the Miami meeting of the Free Trade Area of the Americas in 2003 & the 2004 Republican National Convention in New York City.

On Wednesday, March 19, the fifth anniversary of the beginning of the war in Iraq, Direct Action to Stop the War will be coordinating a series of actions, in which there will be blockades of the offices of government agencies & war-profiteering corporations in downtown San Francisco. The past five years have proven the anti-war movement unequivocally correct in opposing an imperial war of aggression with a cost astronomical both in lives & resources. They believe that it is time for us to take direct action against the organisations responsible for this war, & make it absolutely clear to them that they can continue to expect this kind of popular resistance until the war is brought to an end.

http://bayareadirectaction.wordpress.com/

'Land of the Long White Lie' The New Zealand Terror Raids

Valerie Morse

On October 15 2007, the New Zealand police carried out unprecedented nation-wide raids arresting 17 indigenous rights activists and anarchists and raiding some 60 different locations. The arrests were based on surveillance and interception warrants obtained under the Terrorism Suppression Act. This was the first time that the police used this Act, a law passed immdiately after 9/11 and a direct result of it.

"Then they ransacked my room, pulling my plants out of their containers, removing the back of my refrigerator and collecting a raft of documents, photographs, electronic gear and clothing. Finally, they arrested me and told me that I was going to be charged with participating in a terrorist group."

The raids were staged on a Monday morning starting at approximately 5am. At 5:45 am, the Police knocked on my door. Then they nearly broke it down. When I opened it, 15 officers swarmed in, waving an 80-page search warrant in my face. When I said, 'this isn't signed,' the detective responded 'here, here's the signed copy.' Then they ransacked my room, pulling my plants out of their containers, removing the back of my refrigerator and collecting a raft of documents, photographs, electronic gear and clothing. Finally, they arrested me and told me that I was going to be charged with participating in a terrorist group.

The raids came as a huge shock to me, to most of the country and to the world that follows such events. New Zealand, also known as Aotearoa-the 'land of the long white cloud' in the indigenous language of the Maori people-has a reputation for amicable race relations, a progressive government and an enviable settlement process for indigenous claims against breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, the founding treaty between *Maori and the British Crown, signed in 1840 by some 500 chiefs.*

What is actually happening in Aotearoa beneath the government's clever 'clean, green, 100 per cent pure' marketing campaign is not at all what they would lead you to believe.

On day one of the raids, there was a media frenzy as the police carefully leaked tantalizing nuggets of evidence including reports of napalm bombs, assassination plots against Prime Minister Helen Clark and President George W Bush, and an 'IRA-style war plan.' The 17 arrestees were brought before District Court judges in four different cities to respond to the charges. One was dealt with immediately by the courts and dismissed, the remaining 16 all went to prison that night, remanded in custody as bail was vigorously opposed by the Crown prosecution.

We were deemed a threat to 'national security.' In the cloud of terrorism hysteria and secret evidence, our lawyers would not even attempt an application for bail.

The New Zealand Government has signed up for all of Bush's post-9/11 terrorism requirements. At the same time, it imported the US Government's brutal tactics of repression, surveillance technologies and police hyper-paranoia about political activity, particularly when it comes from indigenous activists who dare to speak of aspirations of sovereignty.

Of the 17 arrested on 15 October, 12 were Maori, many from the Tuhoe iwi (tribe). Tuhoe is known for its long history of resistance to colonization. They never signed the Treaty of Waitangi. There is a story that the Crown agent was advised that he would be eaten if he attempted to come into Tuhoe land in order to get the Treaty signed. Today, Tuhoe have the one of the highest ratios of native speakers of the Maori language (called 'te reo') among tribal groups and have a strong cultural identity that is intimately linked to the land in an area that they call 'Te Urewera,' land of the mist. There are about 20,000 people who claim Tuhoe ancestry, many of whom are still living in relatively isolated communities within Te Urewera.

The raids and arrests were the culmination of an $8 million dollar, two-year long operation dubbed 'Operation Eight'. On the day of the raids, some 300 police were involved. Most had little knowledge of the investigation or the suspects; none it seems had any knowledge of the history of the Crown's scorched earth policy, murder, and land theft which prompted *fierce resistance by Tuhoe more than 100 years ago.*

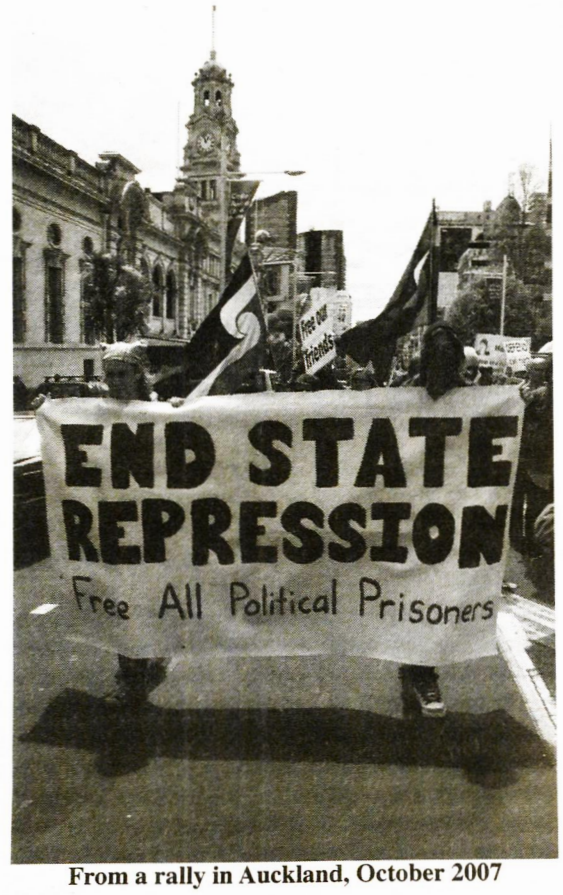
The forces of the state have a convenient way of forgetting things that don't suit the current narrative. Such was the case on October 15. In a spectacular display of force, armed, balaclava-clad police known as the 'armed offenders squad' quite literally invaded the small Tuhoe town of Ruatoki and blockaded the entire community. On an elaborate quest for terrorists and evidence, they stopped all vehicles coming in or out of the community and photographed the drivers and occupants. In the process of conducting house raids, they severely traumatized many people, including locking a woman and five children in a shed for six hours while the man of the family was questioned, taking a woman's underwear as evidence, and boarding a local school bus.

In one South Auckland raid, the police held an entire family, including a 12 year old girl, on their knees with hands behind their heads for some 5 hours, asking the young woman if she was a terrorist. This was the pattern for raids in the Maori communities.

For the non-indigenous arrestees (referred to herein as 'pakeha' a word that means white New Zealander), the situation was starkly different. In my case, I was not even handcuffed as I was walked to the car. No white neighborhoods were blockaded, nor were white bystanders stopped and photographed as they went about their daily business that cool Monday morning in October. It was only Maori.

The institutional racism of the police and justice system came as no surprise to Maori people and particularly to Tuhoe who have been subject to its arbitrary acts for some 160 years. For pakeha throughout the country, it was a wake-up call. Unfortunately, it was less a wake-up call about racism than it was about the growing power of the state against political dissidents. I say it was unfortunate because it is clear from the nearly 10,000 pages of evidence I have now seen, that it is Maori sovereignty that they fear. It is the political force of unified indigeneity that scares the ruling class of New Zealand.

For Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand, the 'war on terrorism' and these raids are part of a long history of colonization in Aotearoa New Zealand, and they have not been forgotten.



From a rally in Auckland, October 2007

In the 1860s, the Suppression of Rebellion Act was passed with strikingly similar language to the Terrorism Suppression Act of 2002. This earlier Act was used by the fledgling New Zealand State to launch a series of vicious attacks on Maori communities in order to appropriate their land for settlement. People and whole tribes were defined as 'in rebellion' in order that the State could then exercise a range of repressive and exploitative measures against them.

I was arrested, I believe, to provide a cloak for the racist nature of the operation.

"In a spectacular display of force, armed, balaclava-clad police known as the 'armed offenders squad' quite literally invaded the small Tuhoe town of Ruatoki and blockaded the entire community. On an elaborate quest for terrorists and evidence, they stopped all vehicles coming in or out of the community and photographed the drivers and occupants.

In one South Auckland raid, the police held an entire family, including a 12 year old girl, on their knees with hands behind their heads for some 5 hours, asking the young woman if she was a terrorist. This was the pattern for raids in the Maori communities."

By arresting some pakeha activists, the government could deflect criticism that this was an operation against Maori. I was also arrested because I am associated with the Maori accused in the case, and because as an anarchist I have caused enough problems and embarrassments for the state that they would like to put me out of their misery. In June of last year, I published a book detailing the New Zealand government's involvement in the 'war on terrorism.' In it, I suggested that both dissidents and Maori were targets of the war, along with refugees and migrants. It was not without a sense of bizarre irony and a certain grim satisfaction that I sat in my prison cell and congratulated myself on being right.

Needless to say, in a country of 4 million people, there are not six degrees of separation, but usually only one or two. There most certainly is a connection between anarchists, environmentalists, anti-war and indigenous rights activists: most of them know each other and work together regularly. One would have to exist in a state of utter delusion not to make the connections between these issues, particularly in New Zealand where the effects of the self-imposed neo-liberal structural adjustment of the 1980s is being felt more acutely everyday.

The New Zealand Parliament is Westminster-style with mixed-member proportional representation. At present, the governing Labor party maintains power through a delicate balance of negotiated agreements, some formal, some informal, with other smaller parties that give support on vital confidence and supply votes.

Anti-War Direct Action History:
Targetting the Shannon airport in South-West Ireland

One airport military supplies to Iraq are flowing through is the commercial airport at Shannon in the south west of Ireland. Every day & average of 5 or 6 US military planes land here to refuel as they transport soldiers & supplies to the Gulf. Some of these planes, like the Hercules C130 are obviously military, & can even be used to drop bombs. Some others are of a civilian type but are owned by the military & have a role in providing the essential support services that allow war to be waged. Most however are commercial airlines charted by the military to transport troops.

Demonstrations have occurred regularly at Shannon. Direct action has been a feature of almost all of these demonstrations, most successfully when a large section of airport fence was torn down & some 150 people got into the airfield. On another occasion a lone activist (Eoin Dubsky) scaled the fence & spray pained a UAF Hercules that was on the ground with anti-war slogans. He then turned himself in & is using his court case to highlight the military use of Shannon.

On three occasions individuals or small groups of activists have succeeded in reaching & damaging military planes. One result of this has been that one of the commercial airliners ferrying troops, World Airlines, have announced that they are going to stop using Shannon, & are diverting their next 17 troop transports to Frankfurt airport. The activists have also succeeded in grounding a US Navy plane, after it was attacked firstly with an axe & days later by five more activists from the 'Catholic Worker' group with hammers & axes.

http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/wsm/shannon.html

As with the British Labor Party, the New Zealand Labor party long ago shed any resemblance to a working-class based party and has wholeheartedly embraced neo-liberal economics. This has had major implications for Maori who in the main reject its ubiquitous commodification, particularly with regard to flora, fauna, land and intellectual property. Nevertheless, up until very recently Maori had continued to support Labor generally, and all of the Maori electorate seats in Parliament were held by the Labour Party.

"In June of last year, I published a book detailing the New Zealand government's involvement in the 'war on terrorism.' In it, I suggested that both dissidents and Maori were targets of the war, along with refugees and migrants. It was not without a sense of bizarre irony and a certain grim satisfaction that I sat in my prison cell and congratulated myself on being right."

In 2004, the Government passed the Foreshore and Seabed Act, which had the effect of extinguishing Maori rights to claim customary ownership of the land between the high tide and low tide marks, and to the seabed. In contravention of international law and despite condemnation by the UN, the Government pressed ahead with the law, with near unanimous support in parliament. The following year the Treasury began to include a line-item in the annual financial accounts for these newly acquired Crown assets. This grotesque confiscation was considered a declaration of war by some Maori. It ruptured the Labor Party and brought about the formation of the Maori Party. This now presents a significant threat to Labor's hold on the Maori vote, and more importantly, to their hold on power.

Politically, this is one of the primary factors behind the raids. In the lead up to the 2008 election, it is crucial that Labour cast radical Maori as a dangerous threat to the stability of New Zealand. This was a gamble by Prime Minister Helen Clark and her cabal to secure a third term through a tactic of divide and conquer. In the media Clark repeatedly stated that the raids were 'an operational matter for the police,' but behind the scenes in Wellington, every politico knows that nothing of consequence happens without her direct and explicit nod.

Another significant political factor prompting the raids is the government's relationship with the US and its other close defense partners. As a member of the exclusive five-nation UKUSA intelligence network (along with the US, UK, Canada and Australia), New Zealand's security and police are intimately tied to a distinctive post-War relationship with the US. This relationship, and the resultant organisational links, has played a significant role in New Zealand's response to US terrorism hysteria. Further, the New Zealand government has separate, internal reasons for adopting much of the new terrorism legislation.

Prior to 9/11, the Terrorism Suppression Bill was before the Select Committee and was simply intended to ratify two existing UN conventions against terrorism. After 9/11, the law was radically re-written, kept secret from the public, while the Government and the opposition rushed to appear resolute in support of the US.

Fortunately, the changes were leaked and there was significant public opposition that eventually mitigated the worst aspects of the Act. Unfortunately, there were many more Acts that followed. These Acts mirror changes to US law and include the Border Security Act, the Maritime Security Act, the Telecommunications (Interception Capability) Act, the Identity (Citizenship and Passports) Act, the Security Intelligence Act and amendments to both the Immigration Act and the Crimes Act.

Along with these legislative changes, the state's security and surveillance services received massive funding injections and personnel increases all in the name of fighting terrorism. Given this environment with all their new toys, eventually, the police and spooks had to find a terrorist. They tried desperately to pin that label on exiled Algerian politician Ahmed Zaoui who came to New Zealand at the end of 2001 on a false passport. When that failed, as it did in 2006 when the security risk certificate against him was revoked, they set to work finding others to fill the 'terrorist' role. The culture of these agencies is such that they view ex-parliamentary political activity as dangerous; they view Maori politically activity as particularly dangerous.

The culture of these agencies is such that they view ex-parliamentary political activity as dangerous; they view Maori politically activity as particularly dangerous.

So the stage was set and the roles cast when some 300 police mounted the first ever 'terror raids' late last year.

The Terrorism Suppression Act was the tool to obtain extensive interception warrants for bugging cell phones and cars, but the people who were arrested were initially charged only for joint possession of firearms and restricted weapons under the Arms Act. In order for the Terrorism charges to be laid, the police first had to get the approval of the Attorney General.

In the first week following the raids, I sat in solitary confinement with no access to news or information. I was in shock. I have been arrested several times in the past for political activity, but have never been to prison. I was scared.

I was also lucky because one of my dearest friends had been arrested that morning and was there with me. We had adjoining cells and could communicate by yelling over a 25 foot concrete wall in the yard outside between our cells. After the third day, I got a book to read: Kurt Vonnegut's Jailbird. It made me laugh so hard I had tears in my eyes.

When they finally moved us to the general population at the end of the first week, it felt like a glorious place - which just goes to demonstrate how quickly and easily solitary confinement breaks down your resistance and your tether on reality. It was beautiful to hear voices, to hear music, to go outside and to be able to see the hills and sky.

By the end of that first week, our lawyers managed to put forward an application for bail. We arrived at the Wellington District Court to a mass of supporters and media. Within minutes of the start of the hearing, everyone except the media was excluded from the courtroom. It was an ominous beginning to one of the most disturbing and difficult days of my life.

In the hours that followed, the Crown prosecutor painted a picture of us as a group of people who had been training to commit terrorist acts. We were accused of attending camps in the Urewera area where we used guns, Molotov cocktails and napalm. The fact that my three immediate co-accused had no convictions of any kind, and I had very minor ones, was used to prove our ill intention to get out of prison and carry out that which we had been planning. Once the terror label was used, no judge in the country, or indeed the world, would bail us. We went back to prison that Friday evening and I felt very, very dark.

On Monday 29 October, the police finally put their evidence to the Solicitor General in order that the charge of 'participating in a terrorist group' could be brought against us. That night, I was interned in my new cell with no one to talk to or to question about what might happen next. I had been moved 500 miles north to the Auckland women's correctional facility in a secretive mission worthy of bin Laden or at least his best mate.

By Wednesday, Prime Minister Helen Clark could no longer hold her tongue and waded into the debate. She arrogantly breached the sub judice standard the term used for the right to a fair trial commenting that those arrested 'at the very least had been training with firearms and napalm'. The media circus continued.

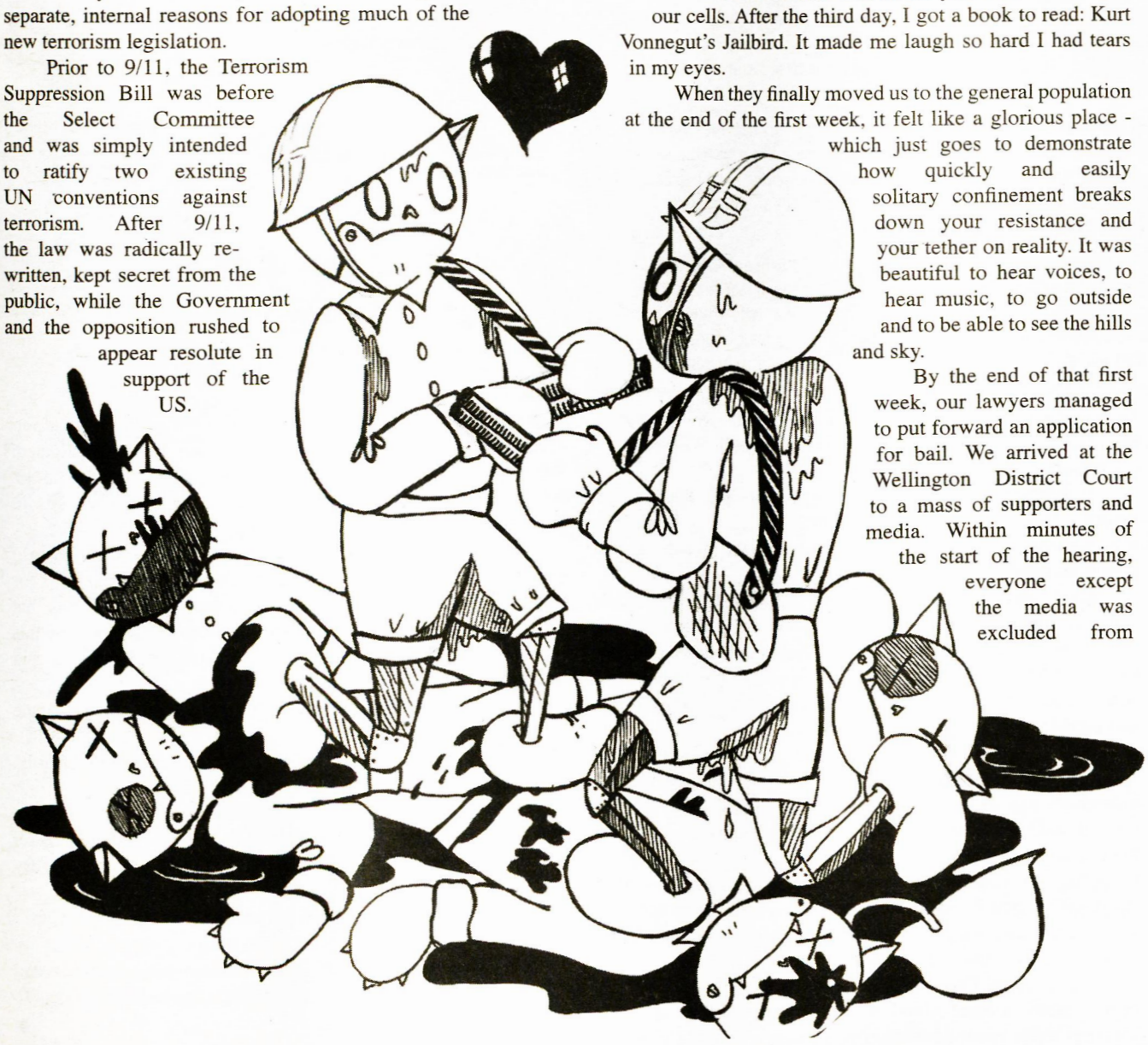
Throughout the country, protests, rallies, fundraising and awareness raising gigs were organized and what remains of the political left in New Zealand rallied around the arrestees. The political analysis ranged from debate about indigenous sovereignty to civil rights and surveillance. The mainstream media continued its tradition of sensationalist reporting, ill-informed conclusions and downright fabrications. The media concentration in Aotearoa New Zealand is one of the highest in the world, with nearly all the major dailies owned by two multinational corporations. Everyone was singing from the same song sheet, so to speak.

"In the hours that followed, the Crown prosecutor painted a picture of us as a group of people who had been training to commit terrorist acts.

Once the terror label was used, no judge in the country, or indeed the world, would bail us. We went back to prison that Friday evening and I felt very, very dark."

The day before I was due to have another bail hearing, after now nearly a month in jail, I had a long conversation with

continued next page



Anti-War Direct Action History:
WWII, England

In 1945 four anarchists were brought to trial for 'conspiring to seduce from duty persons in the forces & cause disaffection' by distributing a paper called 'War Commentary' & a leaflet called 'Fight? What For?' The leaflet contained a poem which read in part

'Your country, who says you've a country
You live in another man's flat.
You haven't even a backyard
So why should you murder for that?
You haven't a house or a building.
No flower, no garden, it's true:
The landlords have grabbed all the country:
Let them do the fighting – not you.'

Only three were found guilty – Marie Louise Berneri was married to another of the accused, & it was pointed out that as husband & wife are legally one, a wife couldn't be accused of conspiring with her husband. She was infuriated by this & didn't want to rely on the techinicalities of the law. One of the four, Philip Sampson, when sent to jail, found that disaffection in the armed forces was much higher than the anti-war movement had known of. (The prosecution in their case had been unable to find a soldier ready to admit that he had been disaffected.) Once inside, he found that the prisons were overflowing with men sentenced by military courts in France, Italy & Germany with desertion. 60 –90 men a week were being returned to England, & the sheer numbers meant that there wasn't room to hold them all. So though they were given sentences of 10-30 years, to deter others, they were generally released & given a dishonourable discharge after only a few months. Sampson also reported that there was no antagonism between these fighting men & the conscientious objectors in prison.

Lightbulbs! Camera! Direct Action!

Hundreds of hopefuls converge on Newcastle NSW this July for an atmospheric extravaganza of constructive climate chaos.

The greenhouse gathering follows in the footsteps of cracking climate camps put on by planet-loving poms and utopian yankees. And it coincides with at least six other solar-powered seminars all over the world.

lightbulb

Organised by go-getting greenies with no time to waste on 'carbon capture and storage', the focus will be firmly on cutting coal, eliminating export expansions and trouncing trading schemes.

"Carbon trading is worse than doing nothing and clean coal is another distraction from the task of actually reducing emissions" confirmed one of the precautionary posse.

inconvenient

The weather watchers hope to galvanise a groundswell of meteorological militancy with their five days of warming workshops and Al-Gore-approved actions. And it's all aimed at achieving an eleventh hour escape from extinction.

"Previous camps have really raised the level of debate and got loads of new people involved," said one social-change sign-up. "We're hoping to continue that movement forward."

carry on camping

The stabilisation spectacular promises to be pretty impressive, with plans for a whole new way of living being showcased. They're even predicitng that this feedback-loop forum will be better than a festival.

"It will be fun but it's also about learning and being active together so we're avoiding the trashiness of a festival by keeping some spaces alcohol-free and creating a co-operative community atmosphere," observed one ozone optimist.

anthropogenic

"Non-violence is a central part of the camp and we apply that to our direct action as well as to the way we live together. Truly overcoming violence takes active participation from everyone in looking out for each other's safety and speaking out against injustice."

parts per million

Following the lead of Latin@ lefties, the barometric blowout will be organised into nifty 'neighbourhoods' or barrios. That means anything from a handful to a horde of coral reef conservationists, forming a tiny turn-out of their own and hopefully also helping the whole. As one framework fan put it:

"The diverse barrios create spaces at the camp that the organisers hadn't even thought of or couldn't have created themselves. You get barrios sharing food with neighbouring barrios and it becomes like a microcosm of a beautiful society."

coal-fired

The meltdown movement has its work cut out. Boffins say we need to cut greenhouse gas emissions by a whopping 95%, starting with the biggest cuts now! There's a wide 'gulfstream' between that and the all-smiles Rudd remedy. Radical group Rising Tide went on a tipping-point tirade:

"It is not enough to merely set a target for cutting greenhouse pollution that is nearly half a century away, without putting in place strong reductions in the interim period... Australia must commit to reductions in both domestic greenhouse emissions, and exported coal, of 95% by 2030, with the majority of these reductions taking place in the first part of the period. This commitment, required by both Federal and State Governments in Australia, must be accompanied by strong actions to curb rising energy demand in Australia. It must also be accompanied by a ban on new coal-fired power stations and coal-exporting infrastructure."

www.climatecamp.org.au ❖

Anti-War Direct Action History: **Pine Gap**

Pine Gap or Joint Defence Facility is a satellite tracking station located near Alice Springs, operated by Australia & the US. While much of its operation is secret, Pine Gap is known to be involved in numerous military satellite operations.

In 1986, over 300 women claiming to be Karen Silkwood (a US labour activst who died in mysterious circumstances after reporting safety concerns at a nuclear plant she worked at) were arrested & released without charge after entering Pine Gap.

In 2002, about 500 people protested at the gates of Pine Gap. They were objecting to its use in the then-impending Iraq war.

In December 2005, six members of the Christians Against All Terrorism group staged a protest outside Pine Gap. Four of them subsequently broke in to the facility, & were arrested. Their trial was the first time that Australia's Defence (Special Undertakings) Act 1952 was used.

In June 2007 the four were fined $3250 in the Northern Territory Supreme Court with the possibility of a seven year jail term. The Commonwealth prosecutor appealed the decision saying that the sentence was "manifestly inadequate".

In February 2008 the four successfully appealed their convictions & were acquitted. Judges who worked on the case stated that a "miscarriage of justice" had taken place because the four were not allowed to argue before a jury that Pine Gap was not a "defence facility" for Australia.

Anti-War Direct Action History: **Australian Students Against the Vietnam War**

La Trobe

In September 1970, 70 students associated with the La Trobe University Labor Club (a radical group not associated with the ALP) organized an illegal march to nearby factories to link up their opposition to the Vietnam War to workers' struggles. They had only gone a block or two when police with batons drove them back onto campus. There was outrage & 400 students & staff joined a follow-up march. The response was even more brutal. Armed police pursued students onto campus & drew their guns, threatening to shoot those who ran away. At least one student was arrested at gunpoint. The cop in charge, Inspector Platfuss, declared: "They got some baton today & they'll get a lot more in the future". But the students' militant & determined stance paid off. It drew in wider support. A third march of 800, with builders' laborers, wharfies & plumbers joining students, defiantly headed down Waterdale Rd. The police held back from the level of violence used previously & failed in an attempt to push the march off the road.

Sydney Uni

By 1968 the influence of radical leaders was growing rapidly at Sydney Uni, & there were clashes with police. A humorous & (for the cops) highly embarrassing protest occurred in July 1968. Special branch Sergeant Longbottom was recording a Front Lawn meeting from a police Mini Minor parked in the university driveway. Students surrounded the Mini, let down the tyres, & carried police car & occupant out onto Parramatta Rd & dumped them.

Monash

In 1971 the Maoists at Monash University launched a campaign to force the resignation of the Chancellor Sir Archibald Glenn, managing director of the giant multinational ICI, which manufactured munitions for the Vietnam War & had arms factories in apartheid South Africa. Glenn symbolised the university's subservience to capitalism, imperialism & war. In April more than 1,000 students voted unanimously for Glenn's resignation & condemned the exclusions policy that kept out students victimised on other campuses. In July 200 students blockaded a University Council meeting. There were clashes when right wing councillors tried to force their way out. For the first time police were called onto a Victorian campus to deal with student protest.

Look at Marxist Interventions http://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/interventions/

from previous page

my lawyer. We discussed his strategy going into the hearing and the possible Crown arguments. At the end of that conversation, he said, 'Oh, there was something else I was meaning to tell you - oh, that's right, the Solicitor-General is about to announce his decision. Valerie, they are going to lay the terrorism charges against you.'

I hung up the phone and I found Emily, my co-accused and dear friend. I told her that, 'we must prepare ourselves for this because it is going to happen'. I was manic, frantic, deeply disturbed and shaken. We sat for a little while before I went to my cell and tuned in National Radio. The four o'clock news immediately went to a live broadcast of the Solicitor-General's press conference. I sat on my bed rigid with fear. He announced, 'I cannot authorise the laying of charges under the Terrorism Suppression Act.' I ran out of my cell, screaming and running around the prison wing, 'they're not going to do it; they're not going to do it.' I yelled up to Emily who had retreated to her cell. I could hardly get the words out.

Her immediate response, 'for all of us?' and I thought, 'oh no, I don't know.' In my excitement I hadn't listened to his whole speech. I ran back to my cell where she joined me.

We tuned back in to hear him say that there was 'insufficient evidence' that none of us would be charged, and that the terrorism law was 'complex, incoherent and unworkable'. I was ecstatic. Moments later I got a call from the lawyer saying that the Crown was no longer opposing our bail. We would be out tomorrow.

It was surreal. I have never in my life felt the kind of joyous relief that I felt that night. I couldn't sleep. I couldn't concentrate. I just sat there in wonder at the events of the previous month.

On Friday, November 9, we were bailed from the High Court in Auckland. We are not free, however. Sixteen of us still face charges under the Arms Act. We continue to have onerous bail conditions including curfews, reporting conditions and non-association orders. They are the State's tactics for control and punishment.

As I have suggested, the evidence indicates that the raids were politically motivated by the long-standing fear of indigenous assertions of power. In this election year, it suits the Labor Government to find 'bad Maori' in order to fulfill the old colonial divide and rule strategy. They will assimilate those they can through propaganda and persuasion; those that resist will be brutalised and criminalised as they have been for more than a century. Maori political activists are under State surveillance because they are Maori.

It comes as little surprise that the United Nations has now accepted a complaint from indigenous lawyers and will investigate the New Zealand Government's conduct over the raids, although it is the first time that a complaint by a group against a state (rather than vice versa) has been investigated. While this is unlikely to have any substantive effect either on the situation for Maori or on the arrestees, it is another blow to the idealized utopia of the South Seas.

In the coming months, the case of the 'Urewera 16' will be heard in the District Court in Auckland. My great hope for this trial and for the future of Aotearoa New Zealand is that the raids will contribute to disrupting the false peace of this colonial state and radicalise people to struggle for justice and freedom.

For more information about the Crown's invasion of Tuhoe lands, please see:*

Tuhoe: A history of resistance at http://october15thsolidarity.info/node/221

*Other sources for information about the raids:

*Back in the mists of fear: A Primer On The Allegations Of Terrorism Made During The Week 15-19 October, 2007. By Moana Jackson.

'Full Coverage: the Terrorists camps on the East Cape.' Scoop.

*Other sources of information about tino rangatiratanga and Maori struggle: Aotearoa Café, Conscious collaborations, Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe ❖

Workers, Not Politicians, Will End This War

Build Our Solidarity, Not Their Elections

Before bombs began dropping on Iraq, millions of us protested against the war. Today, the war is dismally unpopular and every day we learn of new atrocities being committed in our names. And all at the expense of the lives of U.S. soldiers, drawn heavily from the working class. Faced with this dire situation, leaders of the antiwar movement have focused on electing Democrats, lobbying Democrats, and calling on Democrats to impeach Bush. We reject this whole electoral strategy. It has not brought us any closer to stopping the war. Of the leading Democratic candidates for President, all plan on keeping U.S. troops in Iraq indefinitely. It is clear to us that a new type of movement and strategy is needed, both to end the unjust wars in Iraq and beyond, and to work towards the liberation of all of us.

Part of building this new movement is working class solidarity. Although the ruling class would love for you to forget it, the truth is that we live in a society that is divided along class lines. The vast majority of humanity creates the wealth of society, but is robbed of its wealth and its power by the capitalists. The State and its politicians exist to keep this system going, to keep us in line with their police and prisons, and in times of war, to send us to die for the corporations they serve. They do it all in the name of a phony democracy. It's a "democracy" that gives power to this or that faction of the rich, instead of power to the communities and power to the workers. By voting in someone to make decisions for us, we cede our power to make real change in our society.

Just look at where they have gotten us. How many people are working well over 40 hours to get by, and can hardly afford to get by on that? How many people now find themselves forced from their homes and communities? How many are without health insurance? How many young people are in prison instead of good schools? Why have we not been able to stop the devastation of this planet of ours? This is the war that *is* being waged against us. It is up to us whether we are willing to fight back.

We must consider this class war when debating the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and beyond. The working people of those nations are our allies, not our enemies. Our common enemies sit in the mansions and palaces on both sides, and it is those in power who keep us at each other's throats and makes us think we have different interests. Over here and over there, the truth is that most of humanity simply wants to live in peace and enjoy the products of their labor. We have built everything that exists in our society. We grow and serve the food. We build and maintain the buildings. We take care of all the people and things. We have created a society that could very easily provide for all, but we are forced to turn its vast potential towards the profit of the few, the waste of our resources, and the tools of their wars. We do not control our society. We do not control our futures.

But we can! And the alternative? It is right there in our history of struggle. All progress in the U.S.A. has been won, not by elections, but by mass struggle and people's solidarity. The great gains of the unions were won in the 1930s by massive, illegal strikes, direct actions and occupations of the factories. The defeat of Jim Crow was won by African-Americans through illegal marches, civil disobedience, and urban rebellions. The Vietnam War was ended through large demonstrations, campus strikes, draft resistance, and a virtual mutiny in the army.

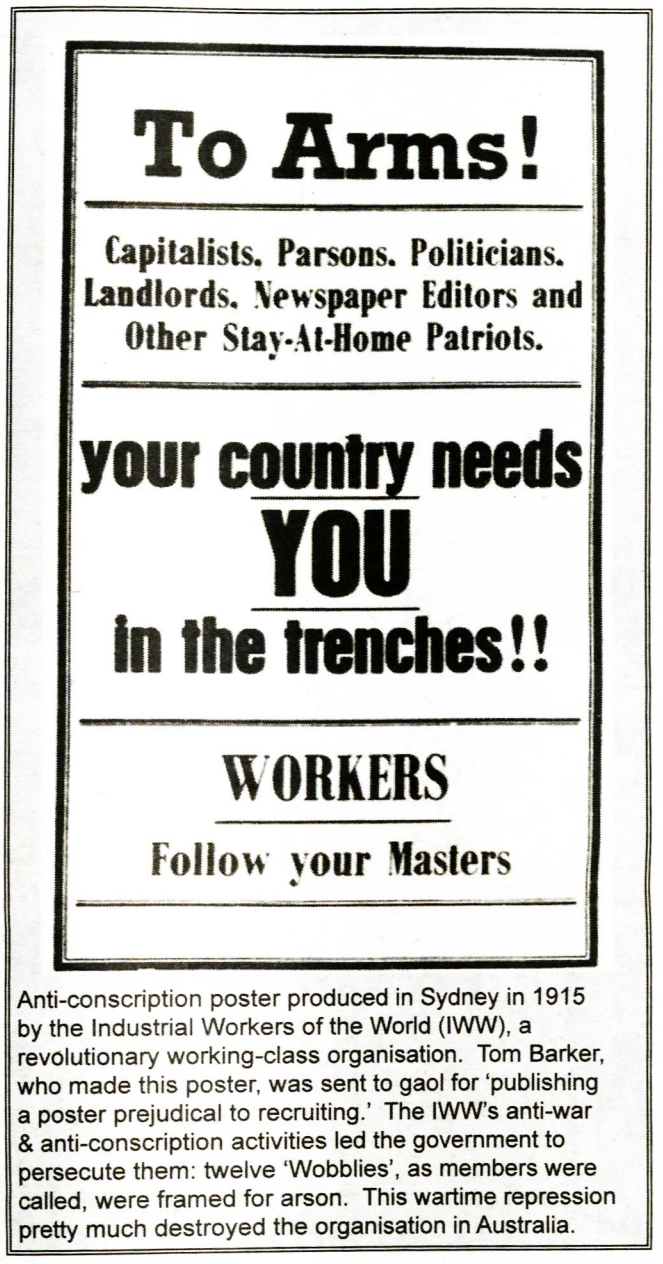
Anarchists at an anti-war rally in the US.

Our movement against the Iraqi war must become independent and militant. Let us reject support for the Democrats or Republicans, or any other attempt to elect someone responsible for this war. Let our movement be rooted in the majority of the population. The only class that is capable of making society work for us and not for the bosses and their wars. The government will not give in to peace parades or scattered acts of violence. We need mass action, workplace struggle, civil disobedience, and unrelenting hostility toward the warfare state and its corporate masters.

Let us support the many troops and veterans who are speaking out against the war. Let us prevent any more of our fellow workers and youth from being recruited and sent to die. Let us support the struggles of working women, people of color, and LGBT people. Let us STRIKE against the war and in solidarity with working people worldwide. Together, we have the power to shut down the machinery of war. We reach out to you as fellow workers in the anti-war movement to help push this movement towards working-class solidarity, unity, and organization. The people of all nations have the right to determine their own future. When we learn to use our own power, the war will end and will be but the beginning of a march towards emancipation.

> "The greatest bulwark of capitalism is militarism, but an international feeling of solidarity is bringing all the workers to the point when they will say to their masters,
> 'Go and do your own killing. We have done it long enough for you.'"
> – Emma Goldman, anarchist communist, New York City, 1917

No War for Empire – No Peace for the Ruling Class!
By the Northeastern Federation of Anarchist Communists (NEFAC)
Antithesis, NYC - NEFAC collective
from www.anarkismo.net ❖



Anti-conscription poster produced in Sydney in 1915 by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a revolutionary working-class organisation. Tom Barker, who made this poster, was sent to gaol for 'publishing a poster prejudical to recruiting.' The IWW's anti-war & anti-conscription activities led the government to persecute them: twelve 'Wobblies', as members were called, were framed for arson. This wartime repression pretty much destroyed the organisation in Australia.

Resources & Contacts

Anarchist anti-war sites

Infoshop Anti War websites
News, reports, anarchist perspectives against war
http://war.linefeed.org/
http://infoshop.org/iportal/antiwar.php

Notes and Information on anarchist opposition to the war
http://recollectionbooks.com/cs/war/Part-7.txt

Anarkismo – anti-war news and discussion
http://www.anarkismo.net

Anarchists Against the Wall
Direct action group opposed to the construction of the wall Israel is building on Palestinian land in the Occupied West Bank. The group works in cooperation with Palestinians in a joint non violent struggle against the occupation.
http://www.awalls.org/

Anarchist Analysis of the Detention of Immigrants and War, post 9-11
http://aporiajournal.tripod.com/detention.htm

Online Resources about Iraq & Afghanistan

Electronic Iraq
www.electroniciraq.org

Electronic Intifada
www.electronicintifiada.org

Electronic Lebanon
www.electroniclebanon.org

Iraqi Body Count
www.iraqbodycount.org

Iraq Coalition Casualty count
icasualties.org/oif

Op Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan) Casualties
www.icasualties.org/oef

Iraq (US) Veterans Against the War
www.ivaw.org

AFSC Wage Peace Campaign
www.afsc.com/iraq

Iraq Updates
www.iraqupdates.com

Aswat al-Iraq (Voices of Iraq)
66.111.34.180/look/english/index.tpl

Blogs

Baghdad Burning
riverbendblog.blogspot.com

Back to Iraq
www.back-to-iraq.com

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender

Iraqi LGBT
iraqilgbtuk.blogspot.com

Gays Without Borders
gayswithoutborders.wordpress.com

War Profiteers/ Contractors

Halliburton Watch
http://www.halliburtonwatch.org/

ANZ in Iraq – Information
http://lists.perthimc.asn.au/pipermail/blackgreensolidarity/2005-September/000634.html

Dandelion salad
http://dandelionsalad.wordpress.com/2008/02/21/inside-the-world-of-war-profiteers-party-houses-prostitutes/

Anarchist Infoshops

Sydney
Both of these shops are run by friendly volunteers. They have a wide range of radical literature & hold film screenings & other events.

Black Rose Anarchist Library & Bookshop.
22 Enmore Rd, (near Newtown station)
open Thursday & Friday 11-7, Saturday & Sunday 11-5
p: 0424 490 792
e: blackrosebooks@yahoo.com.au

Jura Books
440 Paramatta Rd, Petersham
open Thursday 10-7, Friday 2-7, Saturday & Sunday 12-5
www.jura.org.au
p: 02 9550 9931

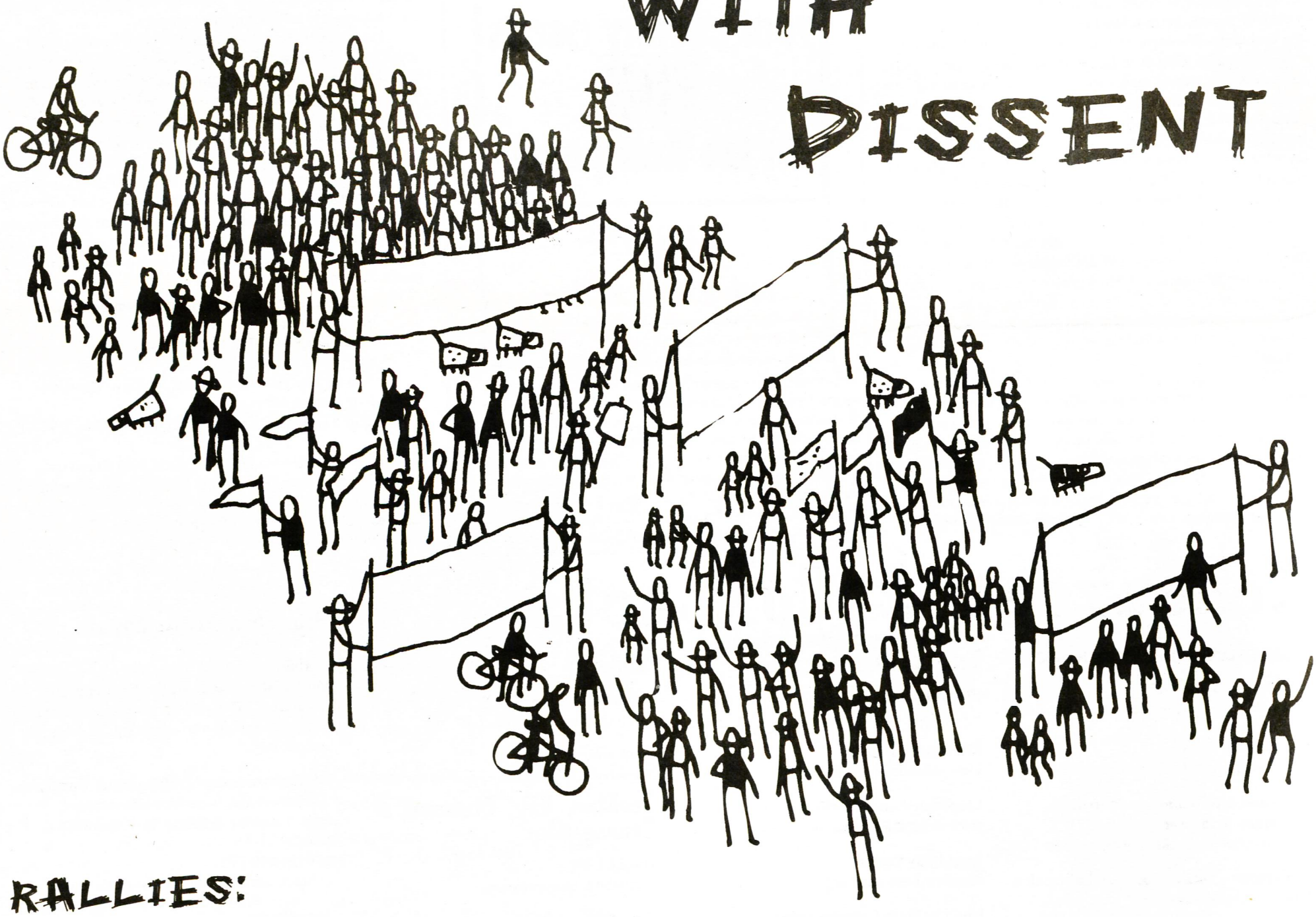
Melbourne
Loophole Cummunity Centre
834A High St, Thornbury
open Thursday-Sunday, 10-6,
http://loophole.shiftingspace.coop

Brisbane
Black & Green Infoshop
80 Ryan St, Westend
open Friday - Sunday 11 -7
beatingheartspress.com/infoshop/html

FIVE YEARS TOO LONG

COMMEMORATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE WAR ON IRAQ

WITH DISSENT



RALLIES:

SYDNEY-

1PM SUNDAY 16TH MARCH, BELMORE PARK, CITY, (NEAR CENTRAL STATION)

MELBOURNE-

2PM SUNDAY 16TH MARCH, STATE LIBRARY